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A Quarterly

Vol. LXV, No. 3 *April, 1960*

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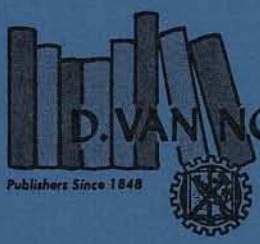
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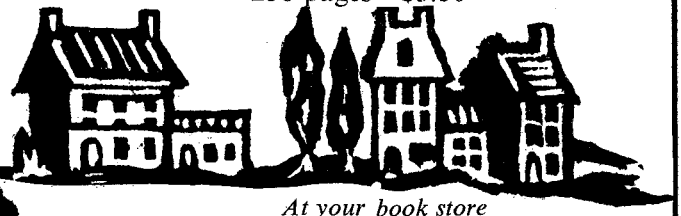
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The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

Vol. LXV, No. 3 *April, 1960*

The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis

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"WE need," Samuel Eliot Morison advised us in his presidential address in 1950, "a United States history written from a sanely conservative point of view."[1] The subsequent decade of "dynamic conservatism" in politics and a "new conservatism" among intellectuals would seem a propitious time to attempt a conservative reinterpretation of the history of American society.

It is unlikely, however, that this essay will lead to a revival, sane or otherwise, of precisely the Federalist-Whig-Republican line of conservative history to which Professor Morison referred. That a modern equivalent to a Federalist interpretation is conceivable I hope to make clear, but the "line" connect-

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[1] Samuel Eliot Morison, "Faith of a Historian," *American Historical Review*, LVI (Jan. 1951), 273.

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ing Federalists with Whigs and Republicans, although in its day a political reality, latterly has come to seem tortuous and disconnected. In particular, the common American usage of the word "conservative," for defenders of the doctrines of classical liberalism, already appears as the incongruous notion of a past era. This sort of conservatism is evidently a contradiction in terms: a conservatism that is devoted, to be sure, to maintaining existing institutions, but foremost among these a system of breaking down institutions; a conservatism that consistently resists change, but nowhere more than in perpetuating change itself as a way of life, and whose tradition is one of hostility to settled tradition. "It is not easy," Clinton Rossiter truly says, "to state the common principles of laissez-faire conservatism."[2] The habit of equating "conservative" with "laissez faire" has produced the odd but quite familiar political spectacle of self-styled conservatives who champion the economic freedom of rugged individuals against regimentation by a welfare state created by professed liberals. Lately the politicians have begun to recognize the anomaly; many a faithful New Dealer now avows himself a new kind of conservative.

Historians have been less enterprising. Recently a few have broken away from commonly received definitions in reinterpreting particular episodes in American history, but as yet we have had no broad conservative synthesis. This inertia is due not only to the professed liberalism of scholars whose courses were charted during the Progressive and New Deal era, but also to the fact that the search for a new synthesis has not proceeded in the most likely direction, that of social history. The recent preoccupation with the history of ideas, although it has succeeded brilliantly in illuminating a whole new dimension of the past, has also had at least one unfortunate result. Rethinking the ideas of the past has perhaps unduly blinkered our vision of other aspects of the past. Although the ideas of a particular epoch, as part of the reality of that time, can never be left out of the account, they seldom serve as an adequate or accurate picture of that reality itself; if it were otherwise, the world would have little need for new interpretations by historians. Perhaps by laying aside briefly our concern with the ideas that Americans have held, of liberalism and conservatism for example, and by taking a fresh look at the humbler but fundamental history of the society that first gave rise to those ideas, we may find a way toward a new and yet a conservative interpretation of American history in general.

At the outset, this plan of attack threatens to bog us down in an all too familiar quagmire. In nearly eighty years of discussion since the time of

[2] Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America* (New York, 1955), 135.

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McMaster and Eggleston we have not even managed to agree upon the proper subject matter of social history. Nor have we yet found an adequately "dynamic principle," or any "great synthetic principle," around which to organize this still amorphous material.[3] Social history remains the "synonym for miscellaneous or nondescript" which Dixon Ryan Fox found it to be in 1929 and the "big booming confusion" and "abyss of thought" which Charles A. Beard deplored in 1933, with no better a principle than the eclectic one, expressed by Roy F. Nichols in 1937, that America "has evolved because of, or in spite of, a series of forces let loose in helter-skelter fashion with no particular order of importance or sequence."[4] A recent survey of university courses bearing the label "social history" or "social and intellectual history" reconfirms these impressions. Virtually anything is apt to be found in such courses—" 'cultural and intellectual achievements,' education, religion, reform, science, and the fine arts, . . . population, immigration, minority groups, . . . 'daily life,' 'social trends,' or 'social ideas,' . . . 'the development of the American mind' "—anything, that is, as long as it is not conventionally classified as political history.[5] In this unsatisfactory situation, one may risk what Fox, taking the opposite tack, characterized as the social historian's "secret bias toward simplicity" in "seeking one principle of synthesis into which everything can be jammed."[6]

What is, first of all, the proper subject matter of social history? The history of society need not be, as it usually has been, a merely residual field, "left after every other group has defined the boundaries of its interests."[7] It pertains instead to a quite specific area of human affairs which, as it happens, has already been conveniently marked out for study by the sociologists: that is, the social order—the structure of society—and the functional interplay of the various institutions and population groups that make it up. In American society such groupings as local or regional communities, social and economic classes, ethnic groups, business corporations, trade-unions, political machines, voluntary associations of many kinds, and of course the family have all been conspicuous. The evolution of a society composed of such groups, and also, in America, of a large proportion of more or less unat-

[3] *Approaches to American Social History,* ed. William E. Lingelbach (New York, 1937), 20, 79.

[4] Dixon Ryan Fox, "A Synthetic Principle in American Social History," *American Historical Review,* XXXV (Jan. 1930), 265; Charles A. Beard, review of Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, ibid.,* XXXVIII (July 1933), 779–80; Roy F. Nichols, "A Political Historian Looks at Social History," *Approaches to American Social History,* ed. Lingelbach, 20.

[5] H. L. Swint, "Trends in the Teaching of Social and Intellectual History," *Social Studies,* XLVI (Nov. 1955), 244.

[6] Fox, "A Synthetic Principle," 261.

[7] John A. Krout, "Reflections of a Social Historian," *Approaches to American Social History,* ed. Lingelbach, 61.

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tached individuals, presents the appropriate subject for the social historian.

It would be difficult to say precisely where the boundary lies between social history so defined and cultural history, since the content of the life of the groups within the social order is their culture; a description of the organization of a group that did not advert to its mind or culture would be threadbare indeed. Yet social history and cultural history can differ in emphasis much as sociology differs from literary criticism. By the same token, social history and intellectual history are related to each other, most elementarily in the fact that social institutions are no more substantial than their members and others think they are. Furthermore, the intellectual pattern of a nation—certainly of America—derives in large part from its past and present social pattern. And yet ideas, whatever their social subsoil may have been, do come to have their own flowering, which the intellectual historian can clip and dissect. On an earthier level, the economic base, past or present, from which any social order is itself largely derived has an objective physical existence partly independent of human ideas and purposes, so that no argument is needed to justify economic history as a subject distinct from social or intellectual history.

All this is by no means to assert a simple economic or social determinism in history. Ideas, whatever their origins, do react upon the social order, and both ideas and social institutions together help to determine the uses to which we put the objective phenomena of the natural environment. But in examining the oft-praised seamless web of history, we can, without unduly straining a metaphor, distinguish, in terms of a carpet, economic history and social history as the basic warp and weft of the coarse backing, cultural history as the finer substance of the carpet, and intellectual history as the figure that both rests upon and gives form to the other materials. If the ultimate goal of historians no less than carpet weavers is to construct a whole fabric, still they must first perfect the elements of their carpets or of the grand historical synthesis.

As social historians we have, to be sure, included in our courses and books material relevant to the structure and functioning of the American social order, though it has been rather aimlessly tangled together with all manner of more or less extraneous things. What is evidently still needed today, no less than twenty or thirty years ago, is an adequate central theme around which to arrange this material, a synthetic rather than a merely eclectic principle. What I have to suggest may seem only to reflect the odd preoccupation of our time with problems of social status. I am encouraged, however, by the number of perceptive recent studies by historians and social scientists

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which are essentially consistent with the assumption that the central and continuous factor throughout the history of American society is its characteristic mobility.

The concept of mobility does, it is clear, furnish us with a principle adequate at least to comprehend a number of conventional concerns of American historiography. The westward movement, which since Frederick Jackson Turner's time has figured as a special field claiming fundamental importance, had better be considered as only one of a number of kinds of physical and social movement. For that matter, along with the even more extensive movement of people to the cities, it proves to have been only one kind of internal migration. Immigration history has grown in recent years into another such primary field. A third, as yet only beginning to be developed by historians, is the occupational and social mobility—the constant vertical movement up and down the ladder of wealth and status—that characterizes any modern industrial country, England or Japan not less than the United States.[8]

Furthermore, each of these three well-known kinds of movement in our history has given rise to certain of our most characteristic social institutions and population groups. The process of settlement, whether westward or cityward, produced our regions and sections and our urban communities. The process of immigration successively introduced a great variety of ethnic and religious groups into the population. Social or vertical mobility, fostered both by the free land of the frontier and by opportunities in expanding commerce and industry, has been with us virtually since our beginnings and has created our characteristic structure of social classes. These three kinds of mobility, and likewise the three kinds of resultant social groupings, of course have always been closely interrelated. We expect to find a certain coincidence in the South, for example, of British ancestry, Protestant religion, and well-defined class distinctions; or in a northern coal-mining town of people of Slavic descent, Catholic or Orthodox religion, and the working class. While there have no doubt been individuals who incorporated in themselves every conceivable regional, ethnic, and social mixture, still our history has made some combinations of ancestry and religion, locale, and class more likely than others.

It is in fact this interrelationship between the different kinds of mobility that makes mobility a useful concept for our social history. And likewise it is the lack of such a concept that has misled many historians of the frontier or

[8] Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959), 11–75.

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of immigration to claim too exclusive an importance for these special subjects —to suppose that egalitarian democracy came only out of the frontier forests, or that the end of both the frontier and of unrestricted immigration presaged the demise of economic opportunity in America. It will continue to be convenient to demarcate these fields of history for monographic research, but otherwise to isolate them is unlikely to produce work of general importance.

If the social order is agreed to be the proper concern of social history, and mobility the central theme in American social history, a general hypothesis can then be proposed for the peculiar evolution of the American social order. This evolution has followed a long cycle. The first phase comprised the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, down to about 1815, and was characterized by relatively low mobility (though high by European standards) and the establishment of a fairly stable social order in the various colonies and new states.[9] The second phase, the nineteenth century, was an epoch of enormous migration, immigration, and social mobility, during which the recently established social order became badly disorganized and in fact disorderly. Finally, after a transitional period from about 1900 to 1930, during which free land and free immigration came to their end and a profound effort to reorganize American society began, we have in the past thirty years established a society which, although still highly mobile, is better integrated than that of the nineteenth century and is in this respect more comparable to that of the eighteenth.

How well does this hypothesis fit the familiar annals of frontier history? Well enough, I think, to confirm one of the main points of the Turner thesis. In so far as Turner's critics have denied the *exclusive* significance of the frontier, they have the better case; but free land, considered as one of several sources of mobility, by and large was the egalitarian social force that the frontier school has always maintained it was. By establishing this point statistically for an ordinary district in Wisconsin, Merle Curti's recent study of Trempealeau County has broken through the timeworn pattern of debate on the matter.[10] Some qualification of this is necessary; as Paul W. Gates has shown, the land laws permitted various speculators to monopolize vast tracts here and there throughout the West.[11] But as in Trempealeau County, so

[9] The best description of this society, in its last days, is still Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America during the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (2 vols., New York, 1889), I, 1–184.

[10] Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, Calif., 1959), 140–221.

[11] Paul W. Gates, "Frontier Estate Builders and Farm Laborers," *The Frontier in Perspective*, ed. Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (Madison, Wis., 1957), 143–63.

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we may suppose elsewhere, if "the rich became somewhat richer, the poor became a good deal less poor."[12]

The leveling force of free land was, of course, already at work in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so that almost everywhere there was established the self-reliant and comfortable yeomanry whom foreign observers thought so remarkable. And yet mobility and stability were still in balance. The process of settlement was relatively gradual before the Revolution, especially in New England, where until late in the colonial period it proceeded in organized groups of like-minded people strictly controlled by authority. In the South it took more than a century for the east-west migration of tobacco planters and farmers to cross the Blue Ridge, and then only to find back-country migrants already moving down from Pennsylvania. Even with these reinforcements, southern settlement did not pass west of the mountains in any great numbers until near the end of the eighteenth century. This low rate of migration presumably contributed to the stability and homogeneity of the society in which the class of self-made country squires figured so prominently among the generality of yeomen in both North and South. Another notable result was the strength of the local or regional attachments which these relatively stationary Americans evidently felt at that time. The more than a dozen distinct dialect areas which exactly mirror the pattern of colonial settlement between the seaboard and the mountains are telling evidence of this parochialism.[13]

In the nineteenth century, the westward migration which had been measured in hundreds of miles rapidly preempted the remaining thousands. However admirable we have been accustomed to think the restless individualism of the westward migrants, the movement was a disorderly process. Although in general these individuals succeeded, as the Trempealeau study indicates, in their effort to maintain or improve their economic and social status, their migration tended to break down the social order which had been painfully attained in the East in the previous two hundred years. The rush for free land inhibited the development of any stable hierarchy of social and economic classes, except, of course, in those parts of the Old Southwest where the introduction of Negro slavery, which had been the most extreme class distinction in the eighteenth-century Tidewater, perpetuated an anachronism. The social and economic leveling of the frontier is still commonly applauded and indeed has become an essential part of our liberal tradition.

Besides social classes, however, other and less dubious forms of social organization, such as local communities, were likewise stunted. Although a

[12] Curti, *Making of an American Community*, 445.
[13] Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1949).

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score of new regions, from fertile prairie and rugged upland to arid plains and barren desert, were settled, the social differences that these physiographic conditions produced were hardly more remarkable than the social resemblances between the new regions.[14] Even the cattle kingdom of the Great Plains, which, as the last high-water mark of the westward movement, rightly lives on as a national legend, was much like the earlier livestock ranges of the savannas and canebrakes of the Old Southwest, although there it had often been hard to see the cowboys for the trees.[15] What these and almost all other parts of the nineteenth-century West had in common was a disorderly or at best a yet unordered society, whose population was too transient, and consequently too mixed in its origins, to permit the growth of integrated local communities. The townships, counties, and cities may have been "settled," but their inhabitants were not.

This tenuousness of local attachments had a result besides the undifferentiated nationalism for which Turner praised the West. Although western settlements did share a fairly homogeneous culture, to the extent that the folk customs of the Old Northwest and Southwest, the Plains and the Far West were in many particulars identical, this common culture was perforce rudimentary. It was as conservative as possible of the institutions and values of eastern society, but distance and the half-settled state of the New West were uncongenial. The rawness of the West is one of our great traditions, and rightly so; even the most careful listing of churches, newspapers, libraries, theaters, literary societies, and other infant amenities of the cultural frontier can hardly convince us that the West sprang into being as a highly developed or creative social order. It was not a seedbed of innovation and reform; it was merely unformed. The theology of the frontier camp meeting, for instance, was an old doctrine rudely preached. More thoroughgoing novelties in religion were the work of long-settled eastern communities which could afford to be liberal.[16]

How the twentieth century removed the influence of the frontier from American society is an old story. As settlement approached its natural limits

[14] Obviously American history is full of sectional conflicts, but these have for the most part, and with the notable exception of the Civil War, arisen from economic rather than social differences. Even the incompatible societies of North and South, for that matter, went to war only after their social differences had been transmuted into antipathetic moral and ideological convictions.

[15] Compare Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York, 1931), 205–69, with Frank Lawrence Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1949), 23–50.

[16] Compare, e.g., Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 90–149; R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815–1840* (2 vols., Bloomington, Ind., 1951), I, 138–394; Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854–1890: A Social History of the Northern Plains from the Creation of Kansas and Nebraska to the Admission of the Dakotas* (New York, 1937), *passim;* Louis B. Wright, *Culture on the Moving Frontier* (Bloomington, Ind., 1955), *passim.*

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between 1890 and 1920, so did the egalitarian effect of free land. Class distinctions hardened, not only in western cities and towns, but on the land itself. Farm laborers and tenants no longer could confidently expect to rise into the class of landowning farmers. (The same thing in effect had happened long before in the Old Southwest, where the suitable cotton land had virtually all been entered before 1860.) Alarm over this situation, so novel in the West, was heightened around the turn of the century by the misconception, endorsed by Turner, that mobility had been due solely to the influence of the frontier. That perhaps a less restless western population, including an accepted upper class which in time could set a higher tone to western culture, might have a certain social value, was a possibility that nobody seemed to consider worth expressing.

In any case, it is clear that the end of the frontier movement was by no means the end of internal migration. This had long since started to turn toward the cities, in large part because of the other two factors mentioned above, immigration and social mobility.

Like the westward movement, of which indeed it was literally a part, immigration from the Old World was, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a relatively gradual process. Although it was the source of the entire white and Negro population of some four million in 1790, it had involved, in the course of nearly two hundred years, probably not as many as a million persons. Even that degree of movement was cut down during most of the forty years between 1775 and 1815. More important (since numbers are only relative), the colonial immigration established, with only a few local exceptions, a homogeneous population of English origin and culture. Other European and African peoples came, but mostly in the eighteenth century, after the English had already set the pattern of colonial society. Even though some of the others managed to maintain their separate ethnic identities, in general the persistence of immigrant culture meant the persistence of a variant of English culture. Americans were Englishmen established in a new environment. The New World modified the social order that they established, but it was, in the circumstances, a remarkably orderly society which in many particulars approximated, often quite consciously, that of the mother country.

After 1815, however, and throughout the hundred-odd years down to the immigration restriction acts of the 1920's, the enormous influx of some 35,000,000 persons—numbering more than four times the entire American population of 1815 and coming from all the countries and cultures of Europe—contributed as much as any factor to the general disorder of nineteenth-

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century American society. Recent scholarship has made the essential facts of this migration as familiar as those of the westward movement.[17] It has already become a commonplace to remark on the uprooting of the immigrants, especially the peasants among them, out of their accustomed Old World communities, and their equally abrupt transplanting as so many isolated individuals into the unfamiliar and often inhospitable American social climate. Like the westward movement, immigration was not effectively managed by society; in most cases it was undertaken voluntarily by individual families as their particular response to economic and social circumstances that endangered their accustomed status at home or promised a better one in America. But their quest for security, ironically enough, often had unwelcome results, when peasants found themselves piled on top of each other in urban slum tenements, where they were too crowded for their taste, or scattered across remote midwestern prairies on farms which were too isolated.

To be sure, the social confusion suffered by these people was somewhat relieved by the ethnic associations which they organized for themselves. But the immigrants' clubs, newspapers, singing societies, even their churches, were at best but fragile substitutes for the customary social order they had once known and feeble custodians of the old culture they had never intended to abandon. Most of these associations eventually dwindled and dissolved, unable to withstand the atomization to which American social mobility subjected the American-born second generation. (There was at least as great a cultural loss in this deracination as in the restless mobility of the frontiersmen.[18]) Moreover, even in so far as the ethnic group succeeded for a time in providing the warmth of community for the first-generation immigrants themselves, most of whom as workingmen were already isolated from Americans of other classes, it compounded the general lack of integration in American society. Our retrospective compassion for these "strangers in the land" may extend also to the Yankees who objected to them as disruptive intruders.

Within the span of the same early twentieth-century generation which saw the end of the frontier migration, free immigration likewise was brought to its end by the national-origins quota acts. The racial theory running through this legislation has since been exposed as pseudoscientific quackery, but the situation of social disorder which made so ill-considered a theory credible to

[17] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group* (5 vols., Boston, 1918–20); Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants, 1790–1865: A Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), and *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Boston, 1951).

[18] Nathan Glazer, "The Immigrant Groups and American Culture," *Yale Review*, XLVIII (Spring 1959), 382–97.

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Americans (especially to those anxious for their own status) was real enough.[19] To be sure, immigration was no more exclusively the cause of the disorder than were the westward movement and the Industrial Revolution, both of which most Americans considered salutary, but it was one cause. In the 1920's, as Nathan Glazer has put it, "America had decided to stop the kaleidoscope and find out what it had become."[20]

By that time the homogeneity of 1815 had been transformed into a wild complexity of peoples and cultures in various stages of assimilation. Although the immigration acts, by cutting off further additions from abroad to this mosaic, have tended to consolidate the myriad of ethnic groups into a single new American culture, somewhat as was intended, the new homogeneity is still incomplete. In place of an unstable cultural pluralism we now have simpler divisions between Protestants, Catholics, and Jews which seem likely to persist as a permanent social heritage from the nineteenth century.[21] For that matter, partly because of the crudity of the racial notions embedded in the immigration acts, they have in one notable way failed to accomplish even their sponsors' goal of ethnic homogeneity. Since the First World War, fresh waves of migrants have been set in motion within the United States, among them Puerto Ricans and poor southern Negroes and whites, who have come north to take the places now denied to Italian and Polish immigrants. But however imperfect from any point of view, the immigration acts of 1921 and 1924, and of 1952, are at least symptomatic of the twentieth-century impulse to reintegrate a shaken social order.

This impulse has been more consciously expressed, curiously enough, in this century's anxiety to maintain social mobility, the vertical movement of individuals from one class to another. Social mobility in America has been the product of an expanding economy, of which western settlement and immigration were parts no less than commercial expansion and the Industrial Revolution. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the economy expanded at a slower rate than it was to do thereafter, industrialization having hardly begun here. It was commonly agreed at that time, furthermore, that in economic affairs there were certain narrow standards of fair dealing which limited private enterprise and which ought to be enforced by government.

The opportunity was at hand, however, in commerce and in land specu-

[19] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1955).

[20] Nathan Glazer, "The Integration of American Immigrants," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, XXI (Spring 1956), 269.

[21] Will Herberg, *Protestant—Catholic—Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (New York, 1955), 18–58.

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lation or large-scale cultivation, for many a humble immigrant and his descendants—even for indentured servants after their time was up—to prosper and become gentlemen after the model of the merchants and gentry of England. Even in Pennsylvania and the New England colonies, which were settled for a less earthly purpose, society had its higher ranks, and it was not long before the foremost among these were the merchants of the ports and such landed magnates as the Connecticut Valley "river gods."[22] There and elsewhere—especially in South Carolina and the Chesapeake colonies after the mass importation of Negro slave labor—the social order consisted of this aristocracy and of various inferior social classes, distinct from each other and accepting the distinctions.[23] These distinctions were kept from becoming as extreme as in England by the availability of land, on which nearly everywhere the broad class of roughly equal yeoman freeholders established itself as the bulk of the population. As we may again surmise, however, this leveling was itself limited by the slow pace of settlement. Even after the political Revolution won independence from the mother country, in most of the new states society continued on the whole to acquiesce in domination by a class of "gentlemen freeholders."[24]

That after 1815 this social order was to be swept away nearly everywhere was not immediately apparent. It became plain in the early 1830's, the time of the great rush of settlers to the West, when in both East and West the rough equality of the class of yeoman farmers was transmuted into an egalitarian ideology. As recent studies of Jacksonianism have demonstrated, the new industrial entrepreneurs as well as the small farmers and handicraft artisans adopted this ideology. These new and old groups alike hated privileged monopoly, though for opposite reasons. The yeoman farmers and artisans were looking backward, seeking to preserve the society of the eighteenth century, in which, even though there were class divisions, the lower classes had a kind of security that kept them from sinking too low. The new group of rising capitalists, on the contrary, looked forward to a liberal society in which none of their competitors would enjoy a monopoly established by government wherewith to block their own individual progress to success and fortune.[25]

[22] Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1763* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1948); Robert J. Taylor, *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution* (Providence, R. I., 1954), 11–26.

[23] Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, N. J., 1922), 134–61.

[24] Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1952); Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691–1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955).

[25] Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, Calif., 1957);

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From that time on, this ambiguous egalitarianism gave direction (or, rather, lack of direction) to both the industrial and the frontier expansion of the nineteenth century. Thus, just when industrialization opened a myriad of opportunities for individuals to rise in position, wealth, and status, the checkrein of governmental regulation was thrown off. The irony of the inadvertent result is another familiar fact: unregulated industrial expansion quickly produced both a glittering plutocracy and a depressed proletariat, far more widely divided in sentiment and interest than colonial social classes had ever been. The fact that the proletariat consisted largely of immigrants of foreign culture widened still further the social divisions. On the other hand, the egalitarian yeoman tradition was by no means dead, and indeed in so far as industrial expansion kept alive a semblance of equal opportunity for the individual, Americans tolerated the actual inequality of wealth and status at any given time within their society.

Well before the end of the century, it became abundantly clear that the industrial revolutionaries had produced an American social disorder almost without parallel in the modern world. A self-made plutocracy recognized little responsibility for the working classes, the latter repudiated whatever common interest they had once felt with their employers, ethnic groups regarded each other with little sympathy, the farming regions resented their exploitation by businessmen and bankers, and individuals in general acknowledged few social duties except to themselves, their families, and their narrow interest groups. Even so elemental an institution as the family, for that matter, was feared to be in a state of disintegration, as divorce became a common practice, women left the home to work, and each new generation of children, even those who did not have to work for a living, seemed to have less respect for parental authority.

The forces of social reintegration were feeble indeed. Symptomatic of the need for a new sense of community was the fraternal order. It is customary for historians to dismiss the lodges of Masons or Odd Fellows which sprang up everywhere as an unimportant eccentricity of a "nation of joiners," and yet they were highly significant of the lack of other forms of community in American society in their day.[26] Despite the extravagant flummery of these lodges and the evident lack of cultural taste among their millions of members, perhaps the invention and maintenance of any kind of social community was in itself a sufficient cultural achievement for their time.

Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1957).

[26] Charles W. Ferguson, *Fifty Million Brothers: A Panorama of American Lodges and Clubs* (New York, 1937), 3–15.

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(Much the same might be said of the still ineffectual trade-union movement.) The American's habit, when taxed by a European visitor with the poverty of American culture, of pointing with pride to "our institutions"—meaning, of course, primarily political institutions—was not altogether irrelevant. Europeans might not value either political or social institutions among the higher forms of "culture," but in America the ever-present task of shoring up the social framework inevitably exhausted energies that might otherwise have been devoted to filling the structure with finer things. Like the contemporary English working-class culture in the view of Raymond Williams, American popular culture in the nineteenth century created social institutions rather than art, literature, or science—in its context, a remarkable achievement indeed.[27]

Apart from such palliatives, however, the chief resistance to social disorder came from various old-fashioned groups, some of them numbered, to their eventual discomfiture, among Jackson's original supporters, who resented being superseded by the Industrial Revolution. It has recently been suggested that even the humanitarian reformers of the 1830's and 1840's, who have hitherto been ranked as the vanguard of liberalism, in fact included many whose concern for the downtrodden reflected their conservative anxiety over their own loss of prestige or influence in society. Thus a large proportion of the abolitionist leaders were genteel folk of the old order, and it might be added that at least a few, like Garrison himself, came from the class of artisans whose handicraft skills were already obsolescent.[28] If it is true that the impulse of these reformers was essentially conservative or even reactionary, this may account for their remarkable proneness, when endeavoring to liberate the individual from bondage to alcohol and other evils, ultimately to resort, with no consciousness of incongruity, to legal prohibition and other restrictions not at all welcome to the individual drinker.

The history of the second quarter of the nineteenth century abounds in similar examples of the reformer who resists change. The clearest is the labor movement, which, until the 1850's, was composed largely of preindustrial workingmen with a reactionary program.[29] Again, the most perceptive account of the "burned-over district" of upper New York State suggests that the susceptibility of the small farmers there to novel religious cults in this same period was in some degree the reaction of a settled rural backwater

[27] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (London, 1958), 327.

[28] David Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era* (New York, 1956), 19–36.

[29] Norman J. Ware, *The Industrial Worker, 1840–1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution* (Boston, 1924), 198–240.

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that had already been left behind by the march of progress.[30] Among these groups only the Mormons achieved their own kind of success, and it is significant that they did so by utterly repudiating liberal individualism when they built their own hierarchic social order in the western deserts.

In recent years the agrarian crusaders of the late nineteenth century have likewise been denied their reputation as radicals and demoted to the ranks of reactionaries. Populism, it now appears, was the unrealistic attempt of unsuccessful rural capitalists to take refuge in an outworn myth. It is true that, in Richard Hofstadter's words, "when times were persistently bad, the farmer tended to reject his business role and its failures [and] to withdraw into the role of the injured little yeoman."[31] But it should be noted that this yeoman tradition evoked nostalgia for a social order in which the small farmer had enjoyed a more secure status. That is, it harked back to the pre-Jacksonian society of the eighteenth century rather more than to the individualistic disorder of the nineteenth in which these farmer-speculators themselves had injudiciously indulged. The Populists, in this sense, were double-dyed reactionaries, longing not merely for the past epoch, but for the epoch before that.

Nostalgia, however, is sometimes more than a perverse rejection of reality. All these so-called radicals of the nineteenth century, reminiscent as they are of various modern yet archaic European groups of "primitive rebels," may have been only reactionaries out of step with their progressive industrial age, but in the end they were not wholly ineffectual.[32] Their spirit has infused a good deal of the twentieth-century movement to reorder society, and in the process something that was obsolete in 1890 has in effect been restored.

This fundamental task of reintegrating the social order had hardly been begun by 1900, when Americans for the first time came seriously to grips with it. This, it may confidently be said, is the meaning of the Progressive movement for our social history. Politics from that point on no longer merely followed the lines of the underlying economic and social foundations of the country, but dug down and reshaped them by an act of will.

At the outset, a nineteenth-century habit of speech dictated that honest anxiety be expressed for the survival of equality of opportunity, that is, of social mobility, mortally wounded as it was supposed to be by the closing of the frontier and the spread of industrial monopoly. The trust movement

[30] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1950), 55–109.
[31] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 47.
[32] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester, Eng., 1959).

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no doubt had battened on the egalitarianism of liberal American democracy; still, the cure for the ills of democracy was said to be more democracy. But while it is true that the Progressive movement was literally "the complaint of the unorganized against the consequences of organization," in particular such organizations as trusts and political machines, nevertheless by force of circumstances Progressives themselves had to organize in order to control these institutions.[33] Thus the Progressive movement, though undertaken to liberate opportunity for the individual, tended rather to encase it in new regulatory institutions over and alongside the objectionable institutions. This proliferation of interlocked institutions was a conservative counterrevolution. In its course, the big business corporation eventually would shed its early reputation as a monopolistic monster and, in effect, become esteemed as the pioneer of modern institutional society, and the urban political machine would be affectionately recalled as the prototype of the welfare state.[34]

Americans of all classes after 1900 preached the Progressive gospel of mutual responsibility, even though we may suspect some of them, like some earlier reformers, of more anxiety over their own insecure economic and social status than over the general welfare.[35] Others, who still denied their social duties, had responsibility forced, at least gingerly, on them by the Progressive regulation of railroads, labor conditions, banks, food handling, natural resources, and so forth. The Progressive legislative record hardly amounted to a root-and-branch social revolution, but for a time in the 1920's it appeared sufficient. The big business corporation, though still growing, seemed a beneficent monster to middle-class investors, and to many other Americans as well it appeared that social reform had been consummated by the legislation that ruthlessly cut back immigration and that thought to restore morality through the prohibition of drink.

After 1929 the Great Depression provoked the more thorough reforms of the New Deal, differing in detail from Progressivism, but directed more consciously than before at the same essential purpose of social reconstruction. For a time in the 1930's it seemed that the industrial depression would, like the closing of the frontier, be permanent, and that at best the old social mobility of the individual might be succeeded by the stability of a mature economy kept in balance by the government. Social security for all was to be the surrogate for the vanished equality of opportunity. The fear was mistaken; the renewal of industrial expansion since 1940 has also renewed

[33] Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 213–69.
[34] Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914* (Chicago, 1957), 48–70.
[35] Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 131–63; Robert Bremner, *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1956).

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social mobility, even in the absence of the frontier and of free immigration.

And yet the reorganization of society by the Progressives and New Dealers, which was part of the broad reaction against the general disorder, often miscalled the *status quo,* of the nineteenth century, has helped to impose a new social order. As suggested above, this twentieth-century revolution has in the long view been essentially a counterrevolution to reintegrate society somewhat as it was before 1815. True, the bulk of the population no longer consists of yeomen farmers, but the welfare state does secure a minimum subsistence as the family farm once did. (The Farm Security Administration for a time even endeavored to restore the yeoman farmer himself.) Likewise, since the depression the erstwhile proletariat, with a few still conspicuous exceptions, has climbed back to a comfortable standard of living, while the relative income of the erstwhile plutocracy has declined by about one third.[36] In a sense, the broad middle-class homogeneity of the eighteenth century has been restored. To complete the parallel, now that Roosevelts, Tafts, and Rockefellers not only accept the responsibility of their class to lead the common voter but are in turn accepted by him, it is evident that we once again have an established upper class with privileges and duties roughly equivalent to those of the eighteenth-century gentry.

There is more to our complex social order, of course, than classes, and it would take more confidence than present evidence warrants to assert that such institutions as the family and the local or regional community have as yet regained the stability of their eighteenth-century counterparts. On the other hand, just as vested economic interests were subject to public regulation in the eighteenth century, so are they now.[37] It is no longer doubted, for instance, that capital and labor bear a responsibility, however tentatively defined, to each other and to society at large; indeed, the responsibility is enjoined by law. There is no need to rehearse the familiar list of special economic interests, and also minority groups and other segments of the American population, whose social rights and duties now are or can be supervised in the common interest by government.

To the extent that, partly as the result of the New Deal, our economy is made up of a balance between such groups as big business, organized labor, the farmers' associations, and government itself, these "countervailing pow-

[36] Simon Kuznets, *Shares of Upper Income Groups in Income and Savings* (New York, 1953), xxxvii.

[37] That public regulation of economic affairs is no foreign "ism" but a return to an American precedent of great age and respectability is the discovery of the considerable body of recent research into such activity in the early nineteenth century. For a review of this literature, see Robert A. Lively, "The American System," *Business History Review,* XXIX (Mar. 1955), 81–96.

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ers" are likewise components of the mid-twentieth-century social order.[38] Recently we have had a spate of professional and popular sociology lamenting the enmeshing of the individual in a network of institutions, from the mammoth business corporation with its uniformly clad executives and its ambitionless workingmen, both groups tied to the job by pension plans and seniority rights, all the way to the suburban family enslaved to its peer group. But the institutions and even the new elite of our social order, though they shock traditional liberals not only by their imperfections but by their very existence, would seem to be only the latest manifestations of the reordering of American society. The liberal critics of institutional society can take heart from the fact, exemplified by their own criticism, that the individualistic tradition of the nineteenth century does endure at least as a counterweight to the main trend of the twentieth, to no less a degree, certainly, than eighteenth-century conservatism lingered on in the liberal nineteenth. The individualist crying out against conformity plays a role in the 1950's like that of the status-conscious "reformers" of the 1830's or 1890's who resisted excessive individualism.

One can also speculate that the gradual decline since about 1920 of those makeshift communities, the fraternal lodges, is no less significant in our society than their rise was amid the social confusion of the nineteenth century. The psychic energy that Americans formerly expended on maintaining the jerry-built framework of such "institutions" as these has in our more assured institutional structure of recent years been freed, at least potentially, for the creation of more valuable kinds of "culture." The same end may likewise be served if the new social order can allay the kind of personal anxiety over one's social status which, as we have seen, preoccupied the individual members of such varied groups as middle-class Progressives and agrarian Populists, Yankee nativists and peasant immigrants, yeomen and artisan Jacksonians and genteel humanitarian reformers, and presumably others whom historians have not yet reinvestigated. The evidence is already becoming plain that status striving is no latter-day degeneracy of Americans; rather, since such insecurity was a by-product of excessive mobility, it preoccupies the individual today not more but somewhat less than two or three generations ago. If so, the recent popular success of books deploring the unworthiness of status striving indicates that Americans are throwing off this obsession and making it, as in other societies, including preindustrial America, merely one concern among many.

No doubt, in so far as Americans have gained a certain freedom to turn

[38] John Kenneth Galbraith, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* (Boston, 1952), 115–93.

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from these purely social problems to the task of evolving a cultural tradition for their new society, they have tended to be "other-directed"—unduly subservient to a still inchoate public opinion—as indeed they already were coming to be when Tocqueville observed their lack of "independence of mind and freedom of discussion" shortly after the start of the disorderly nineteenth century.[39] How else could an individualistic people be expected to evolve an indigenous cultural tradition out of social confusion but by consulting, observing, and censuring each other? The result may turn out to be good or bad, but that the process has taken so long to approach a result is due to the ultraliberal nineteenth century, some of the cultural and intellectual effects of which still linger with us in the socially conservative twentieth.[40]

Today there are European traditionalists who lament the recent "Americanization" of the Old World, by which they mean the erosion of genteel manners, parental discipline, working-class subservience, and aristocratic patronage of art and literature of a certain standard. In the sense that the old European social order has about vanished, they are right. The American example, however, has been less important a cause of this than the continuing industrialization of Europe itself. In the nineteenth century, America, with far less of "feudal" tradition to restrain it, did succumb far more rapidly than Europe to the social mobility that accompanies industrialization —succumbed indeed almost at one blow, since the impact of modern industry here was multiplied by the coincidence of massive immigration and the westward movement.[41] But in a sense no less real, as we have seen, America in the present century has itself undergone a sort of Europeanization, though

[39] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, Conn., 1950), 19–25; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* tr. Henry Reeve (2 vols., New York, 1838), I, 244.

[40] The way in which the recent preoccupation of historians with intellectual history has tended to obscure this essential social difference between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should be evident. To the historian of ideas and culture, the nineteenth century appears, and rightly so, as a period of "formalism," characterized by abstract, deductive thought and derivative cultural standards, while the twentieth has been a time of pragmatic rebellion in the name of relativism in ideas and cultural norms. But in social history the term "formalism" can hardly be applied to the disorder of the nineteenth century. In fact, the "formal" ideas themselves—the Protestant ethic, classical economics, even the Malthusian inspiration for social Darwinism, with which apologists defended social disorder—were drawn largely from the previous, preindustrial age and were already out of date as descriptions of contemporary reality. Likewise, when after 1880 certain intellectuals revolted against this formalism, their own ideas reflected the liberalism of a nineteenth-century society that was already about to pass away. This is in some degree an illustration of the usual lag with which social ideas follow behind social changes. On the other hand, since at the same time the foremost intellectual rebels, as preachers of what has been called "historicism" and "cultural organicism," were among the prophets of the new, more formally integrated social order, evidently the propriety of the usual characterization of twentieth-century America as an age of pragmatic disintegration needs to be reexamined. See Morton G. White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York, 1949), 11–31, 94–103.

[41] Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), 3–32.

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this did not proceed from Europe, as its opponents have suspected, any more than Americanization really went full-grown across the ocean to Europe. In either case the causes were essentially indigenous.

In effect, Western Europe has recently adopted a social pattern which, as early as the eighteenth century, already was distinctively American: orderly and adequately regulated, yet strongly infused with a robust egalitarianism. In the past, Europe has lacked the practical egalitarianism, and in the nineteenth century America temporarily lost its orderliness and regularity. Recently the Old and New Worlds have become more alike. Like Europe, America no longer has vast immigration or a frontier of free land, but both America and Europe are being continually transformed by the social mobility inherent in their industrial economies, a force that works, however, within the solid and coherent structure of a new institutional order. Whether an equally impressive Western popular culture will also arise on these social foundations is not yet so certain; a historian may be excused from outright prophecy.

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Tibet, India, and Malaya as Sources of Western Medieval Technology

LYNN WHITE, JR.*

IN 1499 when Polydore Vergil published the first history of technology that amplified the Greco-Roman tradition, it did not occur to him that, save for silk and cotton, Europe might owe anything in these matters to Central, Southern, and Eastern Asia: his horizon in that direction was the "Magi, qui Persica lingua Sapientes appellantur." It was not until the seventeenth century that Jesuit missionaries to the Orient persuaded Europeans to believe that several of the fundamental inventions which are alleged to have made the modern world modern were of Chinese origin: notably gunpowder, the compass, paper, and printing. The process of scholarly erosion then began, and our view today is moderately changed. What has emerged is a sense of the remarkable complexity of the interplay between the Occident and East Asia from Roman and Han times onward. This involved a two-way traffic, in many items, along many routes, and of varying density in different periods.

But while no one can fail to be filled with admiration for Chinese inventiveness, is it conceivable that our history of technology, in estimating Asia, may still be in bondage to the Jesuit enthusiasms?[1] Was there no technological originality in the other civilizations east of Iran?

We should not assume that a culture that is advanced in art, literature, philosophy, religion, or politics is necessarily progressive technologically. The Parthenon, with all its aesthetic subtleties, is not interesting from the viewpoint of engineering, save perhaps in the use of iron cantilevers to counteract some of its structural inadequacies. Indeed, Athens in its prime was technologically primitive even from the standpoint of a Hellenistic city three hundred years later. The Pericleans, for example, despite their interest

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[1] The only two general surveys, Joseph Needham, "L'unité de la science: L'apport indispensable de l'Asie," *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, II (Pt. 1, 1949), 563–82, and P. Huard, "Sciences et techniques de l'Eurasie," *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*, 2d ser., XXV (1950), 111–48, are entirely dominated by the Chinese achievement, except for Needham's suggestion, on page 571, that the mineral acids may have been discovered in India by the seventh century.

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in abstract geometry, were quite unable to build a sturdy trussed timber roof. Technology is related to every aspect of culture, but as Stone Age cave paintings demonstrate, technological limitations do not hamper all great expression of the human spirit.

In dealing with the Hindu and Buddhist regions of South Asia we may well be facing cultures not greatly concerned about technology. The greatest monument of Indonesia, Borobudur, is beautiful beyond belief in its mass and in its detail; it reflects a world filled both with gentleness and with sophistication. But structurally it is rudimentary and its miles of sensitively carved reliefs illustrate a life of technological simplicity.[2] The historian of technology, then, must approach this area without presuppositions as to what he may find. He must simply search for the facts.

Partly because few scholars have been aware that such problems exist, the facts are not easy to get. For example, the most recent and scientifically best-equipped student of the metallurgy of early medieval longswords expresses his personal conviction that the marvelously skillful fagoting, twisting, and forging of thin rods of steel and iron of different qualities that produced the laminated Merovingian blades was inspired by Indian wootz steel, which achieved similar results by crystallization.[3] He admits that he cannot yet prove it and that no final judgment will be reached until rigorous metallurgical analysis has been made of so-called "damascened" swords found throughout Eurasia. As an American metallurgist has pointed out,[4] however, since swords were being made in nineteenth-century Tibet by a process very similar to that found in the sixth-century Rhineland, firm conclusions may eventually be reached.

Again, the stirrup, or at least the big-toe stirrup, is clearly an Indian invention of the late second century before Christ.[5] To judge by nineteenth-century evidence, the big-toe stirrup spread wherever ancient Hindu culture reached peoples whose ruling class habitually went barefoot; that is, from the Philippines and Timor on the east to Ethiopia on the west.[6] But where

[2] Cf. N. J. Krom and T. van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur* (2 vols. and 6 portfolios of plates, The Hague, 1920).

[3] Édouard Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne d'après les sépultures, les textes et le laboratoire* (4 vols., Paris, 1949–59), III, 94, 97–98, 109.

[4] C. S. Smith, "Decorative Etching and the Science of Metals," *Endeavour,* XVI (1957), 200.

[5] A. D. H. Bivar, "The Stirrup and Its Origins," *Oriental Art,* n. s., I (1955), 61–65.

[6] Cf. J. Montano, "Reise auf den Philippinen," *Globus,* XLVI (1884), 36; for Timor, A. Schlieben, "Geschichte der Steigbügel," *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung,* XXIV (1892), 198; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia: Being Notes Collected during Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country* (2 vols., New York, 1856), II, 30; A. W. Baker, *Exploration of the Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia* (Hartford, Conn., 1868), 263.

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and by whom was the big-toe stirrup enlarged to permit shod aristocrats to use it? The British Museum has an unpublished Kushan engraved gem of about A.D. 100[7] showing a booted rider with hooklike foot supports. But the foot-stirrup, eventually so influential in the development of European medieval warfare,[8] cannot be identified earlier than fifth-century China and Korea.[9]

Some claims for South Asian technological originality are either groundless or suspect. Certain ships carved at Borobudur, for instance, have often been adduced as showing the first symptoms of the fore-and-aft rig and the ancestors of the lateen sail.[10] It has now been shown, however, that several varieties of fore-and-aft rig, probably including the lateen, for use on small boats developed in the Aegean Sea during the first or second century after Christ, and that such sails reached Ostia by the third century at the latest.[11] By the sixth century, that is at least two hundred years before Borobudur was built, they were used in the Mediterranean on large ships.[12]

The literature on textiles, moreover, is replete with the undocumented statement that the spinning wheel is an Indian invention. Since the spinning wheel is one of the first instances of the belt-transmission of power, and is a notable early use of the flywheel principle and of differential speeds of rotation in the same device, it is a matter of importance in the history of machine design, quite apart from its economic significance in cheapening the cost of yarn. But the spinning wheel would seem to be European. First, the earliest flywheels as elements in machine design emerge in Theophilus presbyter's *Schedula,* probably of the late eleventh century.[13] Second, the

[7] British Museum 1919, 7–9, 02. Katherine Field Caldwell of Mills College and Douglas Barrett of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum supplied photographs, and John Rosenfield of the University of California, Los Angeles, confirmed Mr. Barrett's dating.

[8] J. F. Verbruggen, *De krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen* (Brussels, 1954), 29–30.

[9] For China, cf. Friedrich Hirth in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie* (1890), 209; for Korea, Joachim Werner, "Beiträge zur archäologie des Attila-Reiches," *Abhandlungen der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.,* XXXVIII (1956), plate 67, 1. S. V. Kiselev dates the earliest stirrups used by nomadic peoples of Central Asia as of the sixth century, in the Altai. Cf. Roman Ghirshman in *Artibus Asiae,* XIV (1951), 184; Bivar, "Stirrup and Its Origins," 65.

[10] Krom and van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur,* ser. 1b, plate xxvii, no. 53; plate xliii, no. 85; plate xliv, no. 87; plate liv, no. 108; ser. II, plate xxi, no. 41.

[11] Lionel Casson, "The Sails of the Ancient Mariner," *Archaeology,* VII (1954), 214–19, and "A Sea Drama in Stone," *American Neptune,* XVI (1955), 217–19. J. Lyman, "Spritsails in the Ancient World," *Mariner's Mirror,* XLIII (1957), 63, and R. L. Bowen, Jr., "Fore-and-Aft Sails in the Ancient World," *ibid.,* 160–64, defend Casson successfully against critics.

[12] Jules Sottas, "An Early Lateen Sail in the Mediterranean," *ibid.,* XXV (1939), 229–30; L. G. C. Laughton, "An Early Lateen Sail," *ibid.,* 441.

[13] *Diversarum artium schedula,* ed. Wilhelm Theobald (Berlin, 1933), 14, 49, 174; cf. 191–92. On the dates cf. B. Bischoff, "Die Überlieferung des Theophilus-Rugerus nach den ältesten Handschriften," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* III–IV (1952–53), 145–49. While both the Neolithic spindle and the potter's wheel employ the flywheel principle, neither device involves interplay of moving parts.

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quilling wheel for winding yarn on a bobbin to fit the weaver's shuttle[14] is the logical ancestor of the spinning wheel, and of this I have not yet found early evidence outside Europe.[15] Third, the first certain appearance of the spinning wheel is in Europe at Speyer about 1280.[16]

What of the alleged Tibetan inspiration of the European windmill? In Tibet one finds prayer cylinders rotating on a vertical axle, powered by an anemometer-like horizontal wind turbine. Since in the shamanistic areas fluttering flags are a form of prayer, it has been assumed that wind-driven prayer cylinders are early,[17] but unfortunately they have not been dated.[18] The initial idea of salvation by the rotation of sacred writings, however, may have been Chinese rather than Tibetan. Perhaps as early as the sixth century, but certainly by A.D. 823,[19] revolving book-cases, usually octagonal, were sometimes placed in Chinese Buddhist monasteries to store, and facilitate reference to, the *Tripiṭaka*. Since in 836 one is mentioned at Suchow with a braking device to stop its rotation,[20] the first intention cannot have been to gain merit purely by spinning it. It appears that in the early twelfth century, however, a new fashion for mechanized piety swept China: Yeh Meng-tê (d. 1148) tells us that "recently . . . in six or seven out of ten temples, one can hear the sound of the wheels of the revolving cases turning,"[21] surely not as a result of scholarly activity. The fact that in modern Mongolia certain large prayer cylinders are octagonal suggests that in Central Asia such devices may have been inspired by the Chinese rotating book-case.[22]

In Tibet the vertical axle windmill is used only in the technology of prayer; in China such machines are employed for pumping and for hauling

[14] Cf. Yves Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres* (3 vols., Chartres, 1926), II, plate cxxix, and III, plate cclxxi; *History of Technology*, ed. Charles Singer *et al.* (5 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1954–58), II, fig. 183.

[15] The *Shu chi t'ung k'ao* of 1737, chap. LXXV, fol. 15r, pictures a quilling wheel and mentions a spinning wheel for silk weft thread. Cf. *Kêng tschi t'u: Ackerbau und Seidengewinnung in China*, ed. Otto Franke (Hamburg, 1913), 177, fig. 55. Franke wrongly uses this material to explain a poem of about 1145 which more probably refers to a reel for setting up warp threads. *Ibid.*, 70, 134. *Ibid.*, plate xcv, shows a skein winding reel which must not be mistaken for a quilling or spinning wheel.

[16] F. Keutgen, *Urkunden zur städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1901), 373.

[17] H. T. Horwitz, "Über das Aufkommen, die erste Entwicklung und die Verbreitung von Windrädern," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technik und Industrie*, XXII (1933), 99.

[18] The often repeated statement that around A.D. 400 Fa-hsien saw prayer cylinders in Central Asia rests on a mistranslation. Cf. L. C. Goodrich, "The Revolving Book-Case in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VII (1942), 154. Similarly, supposed hand prayer cylinders on Kushan coins are misinterpretations. *Ibid.*, 153.

[19] *Ibid.*, 133.

[20] S. Lévi and Édouard Chavannes, "Quelques titres énigmatiques dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique du Bouddhisme Indien," *Journal asiatique*, 11th ser., VI (1915), 308.

[21] Goodrich, "Revolving Book-Case in China," 137; cf. *ibid.*, 141–43.

[22] *Ibid.*, 161, n. 59.

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canal boats over lock-slides, but not for grinding grain; in Afghanistan they are used chiefly for milling flour.[23] This would indicate a diffusion of the mechanically simpler Tibetan device in two directions, in each of which it found a different application. Windmills are not heard of in China before the later thirteenth century.[24] In Afghanistan such mills are definitely attested by the tenth century,[25] but there is no evidence that they ever spread to other parts of Islam,[26] much less to Europe. The Western medieval windmill, involving gearing and rotating on an axle tipped slightly above the horizon so as to get a better turbine action on the vanes, is probably an independent invention inspired by the geared, horizontal axle water mill. It appears about 1180[27] and was taken to Syria by the Third Crusade.[28] No vertical axle windmill of the Tibetan type is found in Europe before a sketch by the Italian engineer Mariano Jacopo Taccola datable 1438–1450.[29]

That Taccola's device was in fact of Tibetan origin is indicated not only by the appearance in contemporary European art of such seemingly Tibetan motifs as the Dance of Death,[30] but also by two other technological borrowings that point toward some particular connection between Tibet and Italy at that time. In 1845 the redoubtable Father Huc saw nomadic Tibetans placing turbine-operated prayer cylinders in the draft over the fire in their tents.[31] This contrivance may be considerably older; for by the late fifteenth century Italian technicians were putting such small turbines into chimney flues and gearing them to turn spits—[32] an elegant automation, since the hotter the fire the faster the roast spins. In 1629 Giovanni Branca[33] shows us a small rolling mill powered by the heat rising from a forge. Such experi-

[23] Greville Bathe, *Horizontal Windmills, Draft Mills and Similar Air-Flow Engines* (Philadelphia, 1948), 4.

[24] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (3 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1954–59), I, 245.

[25] Al-Mas'ūdi, *Les prairies d'or,* ed. and tr. Charles Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (9 vols., Paris, 1861–77), IV, 226–27. Cf. *ibid.,* II, 80, for ambiguous evidence which may indicate such mills in the seventh century; for criticism, cf. Horwitz, "Über das Aufkommen," 96.

[26] The alleged windmills at Tarragona under the caliphate rest on the statement of a book completed in A.D. 1461. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyari, *La peninsule ibérique au moyen âge,* ed. Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1938), xv.

[27] Léopold Delisle, "On the Origin of Windmills in Normandy and England," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* VI (1851), 403.

[28] Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte,* ed. Gaston Paris (Paris, 1897), lines 3227–29.

[29] Munich State Library, Cod. lat. 197, fol. 87r; Arturo Uccelli, *Storia della tecnica* (Milan, 1945), fig. 28; for date, cf. Lynn Thorndike, "Marianus Jacobus Taccola," *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences,* VIII (1955), 7–26.

[30] Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Le moyen âge fantastique: Antiquités et exotismes dans l'art gothique* (Paris, 1955), 247–48.

[31] E. R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary,* tr. W. Hazlitt (New York, 1927), 195.

[32] Cf. Leonardo da Vinci, *Codice Atlantico,* fol. 51 v-a (Milan, 1894), datable ca. 1485; cf. Carlo Pedretti, "Saggio di una cronologia dei fogli del Codice Atlantico," in his *Studi Vinciani* (Geneva, 1957), 267; Uccelli, *Storia della tecnica,* figs. 37, 38, 40.

[33] Giovanni Branca, *Le machine* (Rome, 1629), fig. 2; Uccelli, *Storia della tecnica,* fig. 41.

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ments failed to develop a major source of power, but they had a significant by-product in Occidental technology: the screw propeller for ships and thus eventually the airplane propeller were apparently inspired by the form of the metal hot-air turbines in chimneys rather than by the wooden, and often spoon-bladed, water turbines.

Again, the Tibetan hand prayer cylinder seems to have influenced fifteenth-century Italian machine design. The essential innovation in the hand prayer cylinder is a little ball-and-chain governor attached to its periphery to help maintain rotation.[34] The development in Europe of the compound crank and connecting rod in the 1420's[35] made Western technicians much concerned with devices for helping mechanical crank motion over the "dead spot." This led to the exploration of possible forms of governors, and by 1482–1501 the ball-and-chain governor on exactly the Tibetan model is found in the sketchbook of an Italian engineer.[36]

The appearance in Italy almost simultaneously of three items so closely related to Tibetan mechanized prayer—the vertical axle windmill, the hot-air turbine, and the ball-and-chain governor—makes independent Italian invention improbable. But who were the carriers of such ideas?

The answer is to be found in the slave trade which built up a population of thousands of so-called Tartar slaves in every major Italian city of the period, and which reached its apogee in the middle of the fifteenth century.[37] Canonical prohibitions against dealing in Christian flesh were fairly effective; with Saracenic ships in every Italian harbor, Islam seemed always close, and Muslim slaves were both surly and prone to escape. This meant that slaves from the shamanistic and Buddhist areas of Central Asia were the chief supply for the Italian market, and these the Genoese merchants secured in great numbers from slave raiders wholesaling in the Black Sea ports. The slaves were of both sexes, and the great majority ranged from eleven to twenty-five years of age at the time of sale;[38] thus they brought

[34] The origin of the hand prayer cylinder cannot yet be dated. The individuation of a larger apparatus run by a group is common in the history of technology, e.g., the emergence of the rotary quern from the mule mill, the musket from the cannon, the wristwatch from the monumental clock.

[35] Bertrand Gille, "La naissance du système bielle-manivelle," *Techniques et civilisations,* II (1952), 42–46.

[36] Francesco di Giorgio's *Trattato de architettura,* Florence, National Library, MS II. I. 141, fol. 96r, in Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, microfilm MLA 604f; on the date, cf. A. S. Weller, *Francesco di Giorgio* (Chicago, 1943), 268.

[37] Marian Małowist, *Caffa, colonie génoise en Crimée et la question d'Orient, 1453–1475* (Warsaw, 1947), ix–x; cf. also Iris Origo, "The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Speculum,* XXX (1955), 321–66.

[38] V. Lazari, "Del traffico e delle condizioni degli schiavi in Venezia nei tempi di mezzo," *Miscellanea di storia italiana,* I (1862), 470–71; Leonardo Olschki, "Asiatic Exoticism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin,* XXVI (1944), 104–105; cf. 101 and fig. 4 for Pisanello's sketch from life, made at Verona ca. 1440, of a Mongol archer, presumably a slave bodyguard.

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with them detailed memories of their distant homelands. Lazari, who has studied most carefully the records of these unfortunates in Venice, assures us that the largest number came "from the regions bordering Tibet and China on the north."[39] Thus we need not be astonished to find simple, but fundamental, Tibetan devices appearing in fifteenth-century Italy.

We know in detail that still another Asian invention, this time starting in the Malayan area, reached through the Middle Ages to assist the mastery of steam power in the seventeenth century.

Apparently in ancient times the blowgun was used in India, under the name *nālīka,* or "reed," to shoot small arrows or iron pellets.[40] It is significant that in modern India the word has come to mean "musket."[41] While the *nālīka* may be indigenous to India, the fact that the blowguns still used in South India with both darts and clay pellets bear names in Malayāḷam (*tūmbitān*) and Tamil (*sungutān*) which are clearly derived from the Malay *sumpitan,* and which, together with the blowgun, seem to have been introduced from Malaya by Muslims,[42] presumes the medieval diffusion of some new form of blowgun from the East Indies. About A.D. 120 Apollodorus of Damascus casually mentions the use of blowguns to hunt birds in the Roman Empire.[43] While the Byzantines used tubes with which to shoot Greek fire, these were syringes or protocannon rather than blowguns.[44] A late twelfth-century Arabic treatise describes a lance from which a small projectile was shot and calls it *madfa',*[45] a term that later means "firearm." By about 1260, blowguns shooting arrows are found in Persia under the name *nāwak* or "tube."[46] In Mameluke Egypt the blowgun shooting small pellets was employed in bird hunting.[47]

Despite enigmatic objects, which may be peashooters or popguns, in

[39] Lazari, "Del traffico," 470.

[40] B. P. Sinha, "Art of War in Ancient India, 600 B.C.–300 A.D.," *Journal of World History,* IV (1957), 155.

[41] E. W. Hopkins, "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* XIII (1888), 279.

[42] James Hornell, "South Indian Blow-Guns, Boomerangs, and Crossbows," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* LIV (1924), 326, n. 1; 333. Robert von Heine-Geldern of the Anthropological Institute of the University of Vienna informed me by letter that in his opinion all forms of the blowgun were introduced from the Malayan region, and that Hornell, page 335, is incorrect in believing that the Kādar type is native.

[43] Lib. VIII, § 7, tr. E. Lacoste, "La Poliocétique de Appolodore de Damas," *Revue des études grecques,* III (1890), 268. Since the passage deals with pipes for fire fighting, these cannot simply be reeds covered with birdlime.

[44] Maurice Mercier, *Le feu grégeois, les feux de guerre depuis l'antiquité, la poudre à canon* (Paris, 1952), 27.

[45] Claude Cahen, "Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin," *Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut Française de Damas,* XII (1948), 136, 155, n. 3.

[46] Jalalu'd Din Rūmi, *Mathnawī,* Bk. VI, line 4578, tr. R. A. Nicholson (London, 1934), 511.

[47] David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society* (London, 1956), 24, 59, 61, 118, n. 75.

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two thirteenth-century illuminations of the mocking of Christ,[48] there is no evidence, after Apollodorus, of the blowgun in Europe until a French manuscript of about 1320 that shows a grotesque figure aiming what seems to be a blowgun at a rabbit.[49] In two manuscripts of about 1475, one French, the other Flemish, there is no ambiguity: a blowgun is being used to shoot a bird.[50] Half a century earlier, however, by 1425, its name, *cerbottana,* is found in Italy,[51] and by 1438 it was being applied in that country,[52] and by 1440 in Catalonia,[53] to a long cannon of small bore. The name shows the line of diffusion: it is from the Arabic *zabaṭāna,* which in turn is derived from the Malay *sumpitan.*[54]

European inventors of the sixteenth century are credited with air guns, but on doubtful evidence.[55] In 1607, however, Bartolomeo Crescentio described an air gun equipped with a powerful spiral spring,[56] a device so complex that it must have had predecessors. In the 1650's Otto von Guericke, famed for his experiments with vacua and pressures, built the "Magdeburger Windbüchse," one of the technical wonders of its time.[57] In 1686, Denis Papin, whose work on the steam engine was of prime importance, demonstrated an air gun before the Royal Society.[58] Thus chains of technological stimulus may be traced back in unbroken sequence from some of the major figures of early modern science and technology, through the later Middle Ages, to the jungles of Malaya.

But it is India that supplied an even more significant element in Europe's thinking about mechanical power: the concept of perpetual motion. Writing about A.D. 1150, the great Hindu astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarā describes two gravitational *perpetua mobilia.*[59] In India such an idea was

[48] H. T. Horwitz, "Feuerlanze oder Spritze?" *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde,* VII (1915–17), 344–45.

[49] B. A. L. Cranstone, "The Blowgun in Europe," *Man,* XLIX (1949), 119.

[50] *Ibid.,* fig. 1, and *Life,* XXII (May 26, 1947), 77.

[51] Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (5 vols., Florence, 1950–57), II, 863.

[52] Cristoforo da Saldo, *Memorie delle guerre contra la Signoria di Venezia,* ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* . . . (25 vols., Milan, 1723–51), XXI, 803, 853.

[53] *Enciclopedia universal illustrada,* XII, 1192, s.v. "cerbatana."

[54] Hornell, "South Indian Blow-Guns," 334; Karl Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen . . . Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* (Heidelberg, 1927), no. 2201.

[55] F. M. Feldhaus, "Zur Geschichte der Windbüchse," *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde,* III (1902–1905), 271–72.

[56] Bartolomeo Crescentio, *Nautica mediterranea* (Rome, 1607), 521.

[57] Otto von Guericke, *Neue "Magdeburgische" Versuche über den leeren Raum* (1672), tr. Friedrich Dannemann (Leipzig, 1894), 82–84, with fig.

[58] Denis Papin, "An Account of an Experiment, Shown before the Royal Society, of Shooting, by the Rarefication of the Air," *Philosophical Transactions,* XVI (No. 179, 1686), 21–22 and tab. 1, fig. 5.

[59] *Bibliotheca indica, XXXII: Hindu Astronomy:* Bhāskarā, *Siddhānta śiromaṇi,* tr. L. Wilkinson (Calcutta, 1861), 227–28. The text mentions discussions of perpetual motion by Lalla and other astronomers, but of these I find no trace. Cf. S. K. Ganguly, "Bhāskarācārya's References to Previous Teachers," *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society,* XVIII (1927), 65–76.

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consonant with, and was probably rooted in, the Hindu belief in the cyclical and self-renewing nature of all things.[60] Almost immediately it was picked up in Islam, where it amplified the tradition of automata, inherited from the Hellenistic age. An Arabic treatise of uncertain date,[61] but which in the manuscript collections is associated with the works of Riḍwān (ca. A.D. 1200), contains six perpetual motion machines, all gravitational. One of them is identical with Bhāskarā's mercury wheel with slanted rods,[62] whereas two others[63] are the same as the first two perpetual motion projects to appear in Europe: the architect and engineer Villard de Honnecourt's wheels of pivoted hammers and of pivoted tubes of mercury of about 1235.[64] In an anonymous Latin work of the later fourteenth century[65] we find a *perpetuum mobile* very like Bhāskarā's second proposal, that is, a wheel with its rim containing mercury. We may thus be sure that about A.D. 1200 Islam transmitted the Indian concept of perpetual motion to Europe, just as it was transmitting at the same moment Hindu numerals and positional reckoning: Leonard of Pisa's *Liber abaci* appeared in 1202.

The significant things about perpetual motion in thirteenth-century Europe, in contrast to India and Islam, are the indications of intense and widespread interest in it, the attempt to diversify its motors, and the effort to make it do something useful.

The contemporaries of St. Thomas Aquinas were far more power conscious than any previous culture had ever been. Industrial applications of water and wind power were revolutionizing manufacture.[66] But the thir-

[60] The suggestion of Joseph Needham, Wang Ling, and D. J. Price, *Heavenly Clockwork: The Great Astronomical Clocks of Medieval China* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959), 192, that the concept of perpetual motion may have originated from naïve observation of the astonishing water-driven Chinese clocks, the motor of which was concealed, cannot be accepted for two reasons. First, there is no present evidence that the idea of perpetual motion ever appeared in China. Second, there is no indication that word of such clocks reached India where in fact the idea emerged.

[61] Four manuscripts are known. Bernard Carra de Vaux, in *Bibliotheca mathematica,* 3d ser., I (1900), 29–34, and in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* XXXVIII (1903), 29, n. 1; 30, n. 1, considers the treatise "very late." Eilhard Wiedemann in the Erlangen *Sitzungberichte,* XXXVII (1905), 231, ascribes it to Riḍwān, but the next year (*ibid.,* XXXVIII [1906], 13) he considers the authorship doubtful. H. Schmeller, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tecknik in der Antike und bei den Arabern," *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin,* VI (1922), 16–23, is uncertain as to its date or authorship.

[62] Schmeller, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tecknik," 16–19, figs. 9, 9a.

[63] *Ibid.,* 20–21, figs. 12, 13.

[64] *Villard de Honnecourt: Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches MS fr. 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek,* ed. H. R. Hahnloser (Vienna, 1935), plate 9; for date, cf. 229, 232.

[65] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (8 vols., New York, 1934–58), III, 578.

[66] In England, for example, during the thirteenth century the change to mechanical fulling of cloth was decisive in shifting the center of textile manufacturing from the southeastern to the northwestern region where water power was more easily available. Cf. E. M. Carus-Wilson, "An Industrial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century," *Economic History Review,* XI (1941),

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teenth-century Occident saw two forces, gravity and magnetism, which operated with a constancy unrivaled by wind and water. By 1199 the trebuchet, powered by counterweights,[67] had begun to sweep earlier forms of artillery from the field, and by 1271 we are told by Robert the Englishman that technicians were laboring to invent an escapement to make possible a weight-driven clock.[68] As for magnetism, the compass had presumably come from China,[69] not by way of Islam,[70] but overland, probably as an astronomical instrument for determining the meridian,[71] and it had arrived in Europe by the end of the twelfth century.[72] Could gravity and magnetism be harnessed further?

Attached to his sketch of a gravitational *perpetuum mobile,* Villard appends a note: "Many a day have the masters disputed how to make a wheel turn by itself. Here is how it can be done, by unequal hammers or by quicksilver." And in 1269, in his epochal *Epistola de magnete,* which is the cornerstone of all subsequent work in magnetism, the military engineer Peter of Maricourt, presenting a diagram of the first project for a magnetic perpetual motion machine, confirms Villard's testimony of the general interest in such matters by adding: "I have seen many men floundering exhausted in their repeated efforts to invent such a wheel."[73]

Probably as early as 1248,[74] Peter had been pondering still another *perpetuum mobile,* which is doubly significant because it was designed to be useful. In his *Epistola* he describes it:[75] a magnetic globe which, if it were mounted without friction parallel to the celestial axis, would rotate once a day. Properly inscribed with a map of the heavens, it would serve as an automatic armillary sphere for astronomical observations and as the perfect clock: "per hoc autem instrumentum excusaberis ab omni horologio." The basic idea for this may have been suggested by William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249. In his *De universo creatur-*

39–60. The guild regulations of Speyer in 1298 show that fulling mills had completely displaced earlier methods in that region as well. Cf. Franz J. Mone, "Zunftorganisation von 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins,* XV (1863), 280.

[67] Johannes Codagnellus, *Annales placentini,* ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1901), 25, writing before 1235, mentions a trebuchet at Cremona in 1199.

[68] *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators,* ed. and tr. Lynn Thorndike (Chicago, 1949), 180.

[69] Li Shu-hua, "Origine de la boussole," *Isis,* XLV (1954), 180–92.

[70] E. G. R. Taylor, *The Haven-Finding Art: A History of Navigation from Odysseus to Captain Cook* (New York, 1957), 96.

[71] *Id.,* "The South-Pointing Needle," *Imago Mundi,* VIII (1951), 1–7.

[72] L. de Sassure, "L'origine de la rose des vents et l'invention de la boussole," *Archives des sciences physiques et naturelles,* V (1923), 264.

[73] *Rara magnetica 1269–1599,* ed. Gustav Hellmann (Berlin, 1896), 11.

[74] Taylor, "South-Pointing Needle," 4, points out that in *De secretis,* chap. VI, probably written before 1248, Roger Bacon clearly describes Peter's automatic globe.

[75] *Rara magnetica,* 8.

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arum, written about 1231–1236, William uses the analogy of magnetic induction to explain the motion of the celestial spheres.[76]

To judge by the number of surviving manuscripts, Peter's work continued to be read. Even before it was published in 1520 or a bit earlier, with a false attribution to Raymond Lull,[77] the Dominican (and later Calvinist) Amadeus Meygret in 1514 was much excited about Peter's self-rotating magnetic globe, and insisted that since it revolved under the influence of the perpetually turning heavens, the ordinary philosophical objections to perpetual motion were invalid in this instance.[78] The *Epistola* appeared in 1558 in a more widely circulated edition properly credited to Peter.[79] In 1562 Johann Taisnier in his *De natura magnetis*[80] not only described such an automatic armillary but provided an elaborate diagram of it; indeed, he was so proud of it that he placed a picture of it conspicuously in his own portrait at the beginning of the work. In 1589 G. B. della Porta discussed the automatically turning sphere in *Magia naturalis.*[81] Clearly, this notion was now in the public domain.

In his *De magnete* of 1600, William Gilbert is more indebted to Peter of Maricourt than to any other author.[82] Although Gilbert repudiates the idea of perpetual motion machines and is dubious of the *terrella*'s supposed rotation,[83] nevertheless Edgar Zilsel was correct in perceiving that he "would like to accept the statement of Peter of Maricourt that a spherical magnet rotates continuously by itself,"[84] because from it he had conceived by analogy the idea that the earth itself is a vast magnet that rotates because it is such.[85] Although Gilbert's hypothesis of the magnetic diurnal revolution of the earth's globe could not yet be conclusively demonstrated, it was by then so

[76] Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde: Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic* . . . (5 vols., Paris, 1913–17), III, 259.

[77] George Sarton, "The First Edition of Petrus Peregrinus 'De magnete' before 1520," *Isis,* XXXVII (1947), 178–79.

[78] Amadeus Meygret, *Questiones . . . in libros de celo et mundo Aristotelis* (Paris, 1514), fol. 12v: "est quidam tractatus de compositione talis magnetis; ideo concedatur ille motus. . . . Et quia tunc a sola virtute celesti movetur et ipsa est perpetua perpetuo applicata, non est inconveniens quod perpetuo duret." Dr. Bern Dibner supplied me with photographs of the relevant passage in the Burndy Library's copy of this very rare book.

[79] *Petri Peregrini Maricortensis De Magnete seu rota perpetui motus,* ed. A. P. Gasser (Augsburg, 1558).

[80] Johann Taisnier, *Opusculum perpetua memoria dignissimum, de natura magnetis et eius effectibus* (Cologne, 1562), 8–9.

[81] G. B. della Porta, *Magia naturalis,* Lib. VII, cap. 37 (Naples, 1589); cf. facsimilie of the Eng. tr. pub. London, 1658, ed. D. J. Price (New York, 1957), 207.

[82] Edgar Zilsel, "The Origins of William Gilbert's Scientific Method," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* II (1941), 11–12.

[83] William Gilbert, *On the Magnet, Magnetic Bodies Also, and on the Great Magnet of the Earth,* Bk. VI, chap. IV, ed. D. J. Price (New York, 1958), 223.

[84] Zilsel, "William Gilbert's Scientific Method," 5.

[85] Gilbert, *On the Magnet,* Bk. I, chap. XVII, 39–44, Bk. VI, chap. I, 211–12, and chap. III, 214–20.

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plausible an idea that even with inadequate proof it quickly abolished one of the major physical objections to the Copernican system.[86] Thus the Indian idea of perpetual motion, first found in Bhāskarā's *Siddhānta śiromaṇi* of about 1150, not only helped European engineers to generalize their concept of mechanical power, but also provoked a process of thinking by analogy that profoundly influenced Western scientific views.

In our time we are so impelled toward global unity that, out of professional ethics as historians, we lean over backward trying not to project our concerns upon the past. Yet it is an objective fact that, despite difficult communication, mankind in the Old World at least has long lived in a more unified realm of discourse than we have been prepared to admit.

[86] F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* (Baltimore, Md., 1937), 215–19. For an analysis of how Gilbert was led from the phenomena related to the *terrella* to the conclusion that our planet is a rotating magnetic sphere, cf. Abraham Wolf, *History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London, 1935), 294–96.

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The Most Wholesome Law— The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679

HELEN A. NUTTING*

AN unsolved mystery of the reign of Charles II is the origin and passage of the great constitutional reform of the period—the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679. The statute was enacted at the height of the Popish Plot when men seemingly were more interested in getting their fellow Englishmen into jail than out of it. There is no doubt but that the principle of habeas corpus was hated by the royal family, and James II later designated the act as one of two laws that must be repealed. Yet this important statute, called "Shaftesbury's Act" and later claimed by the Whigs as their greatest achievement, was scarcely noted by contemporaries, and dissidents of the Exclusion Parliaments made no claim to party sponsorship. In fact, they seemed barely aware of it. There is even some doubt as to whether the bill was legally enacted. Persistent although unofficial were the rumors of the 1680's that the bill had passed the Lords only on a teller's trick, and Gilbert Burnet's story of the one fat peer who was counted as ten has since been widely accepted as fact.[1] The reputation of the Habeas Corpus Act as the foundation of liberty was born with the Revolution of 1688, but men in Parliament, all of them country party leaders, had been fighting for the measure for ten years before its passage.

The debates on habeas corpus that took place in the House of Commons between 1668 and 1679 have not been fully examined. At least, no one has determined the significance that these debates may have either on the act itself

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[1] This story is highly improbable, if only on grounds that James would certainly have taken advantage of a real miscount to overturn the act in 1685. While the minute book of the House of Lords shows eleven more peers voting on this division than on the one preceding and five more than had answered the roll call earlier in the day, the attendance lists are notoriously inaccurate. In any event, the bill had passed the House of Lords on May 2 without a division, and this vote of May 27 was taken on a motion to meet with the House of Commons again on amendments. It is also significant that rumors started only late in 1680 during the first Exclusion Parliament. Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, ed. Osmund Airy (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1897–1900), II, 263–64. *Journals of the House of Lords, 1578–1714* (19 vols., n.p., n.d.), XIII, 594–95; Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter cited as HMC), Eleventh Report, Appendix II, House of Lords MSS, 136. For early versions of the story see "His Majesty's Declaration Defended in a Letter to a Friend," London, 1681, in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1660–1708* (38+ vols., London, 1860–), *1680*, 81 (hereafter cited as *CSPD*); "Advice to a Courteous Reader," 1681, *CSPD, 1680–81*, 471.

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or on judicial and administrative practices of the period. An examination of them is most profitable: it reveals how certain Commoners compromised their original and highly provocative aim to abolish imprisonment at royal command and settled for the more moderate and less controversial aim to control abuses that usually attended such imprisonment. Most significantly, these debates spurred changes of both administrative and judicial procedure which preceded the passage of the act. The origins of this act were thus neither strictly political nor strictly legal. From the days of the Resolution in Anderson in 1591 (stating the principle that the king and Privy Council should specify cause for ordering imprisonment), the Petition of Right and the Act for Abolishing the Star Chamber, habeas corpus had become established in the public mind as a remedy for those deprived of their liberty. Nevertheless, the act of 1679 was necessary to make the writ truly effective. The manner and nature of its earlier development had created problems of execution that were beyond the power of the courts themselves to solve. The Bench and the members of the Long Robe were concerned with inadequate machinery, conflicting jurisdictions, and questions of detail which created hardly a ripple in the House of Commons. In Commons the primary aim of the members pushing the measure was to limit the power of the king and the courts, or at least to provide themselves and men of their class with freedom to speak their minds with impunity. The path toward necessary legislation was further complicated by the fact that the judges were concerned with politics and political questions, including both royal and judicial prerogative, while Commons, fearing a revival of the "spirit of '41," was as timid as Charles II and his officials in facing squarely the issues of this transitional age. As a result, the act was a series of compromises. Although the manner of Charles's government and the growth of an organized opposition in the House of Commons set the legislative machinery in motion, legal problems gave the political issues substance and determined the passage of the act.

Materials available and necessary for this study, both political and legal, are less complete than could be wished. Parliamentary debates on the bill are unusually fragmentary and only a few random speeches have survived to supplement the account in Grey.[2] Pamphlets are sparse and usually concerned with a particular instance of injustice, not with theoretical problems. Judicial records are almost equally perverse. Legal reporting was casual, both in the choice of cases and the selection of information included.[3] For

[2] Anchitell Grey, *Debates in the House of Commons* (10 vols., London, 1763), I–VII.
[3] Van Vechten Veeder, "The English Reports, 1537–1865," reprinted in *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History* (3 vols., Boston, 1907–1909), II, 123–56.

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regular procedure in King's Bench, two sorts of records have been helpful: the writs themselves and the daybook of the court, giving all court orders by date, but not the arguments or reasons that determined court action.[4] For writs requested and denied there is no record aside from chance references in petitions to the Privy Council or in miscellaneous literary sources. The nature of the material available itself supports the argument that this important legislation made a relatively slight impression on the minds of contemporaries.

As interesting as the political background of the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 are the legal procedures that made reform essential if the writ were to become a sure remedy against unlawful or long-continued imprisonment. Unfortunately, the full story of judicial disagreements over precedents and the reforms of procedure inaugurated by the Court of King's Bench itself is much too long to be considered in detail here and can only be indicated. The impact of the new attitude developing in the House of Commons after 1688 will, however, be noted in order to bring into focus the events of 1679. This will be done in the light of the conflict between the two houses of Parliament, in which the two points of view—legal and political—were eventually resolved.

Between 1660 and 1679 various obstacles lay in the way of a speedy release from prison on a writ of habeas corpus. Difficulties often arose in getting a writ and forcing the jailer to bring the prisoner to court, while the possibility of conspiracy among officials could render the procedure extortionate for a prisoner of moderate means. In 1680, for example, the Whiggish Sir Henry Care, in *English Liberties,* attributed the passage of the act to such delays and evasions practiced by jailers rather than to any abstract philosophy of human rights held by the House of Commons or to the important legal points raised by leading cases decided during this period.[5]

Habeas corpus ad subjiciendum, the writ used for freeing men from wrongful imprisonment, was a judicial writ normally issued out of the Court of King's Bench. A judicial writ had to be requested at the bar by an attorney and was issued only on clear evidence of need, usually in the form of a copy of the warrant.[6] It was a matter of judicial discretion as to whether

[4] These King's Bench writs have never been calendared and are in the original bundles in the Public Record Office listed as PRO/KB 140/30/1-KB 140/35. PRO/KB 29/319–20 is a clearer copy but unfortunately incomplete. The Journal Book for this period is filed as PRO/KB/27/15–19.

[5] Sir Henry Care, *English Liberties: or, the Free-Born Subject's Inheritance . . .* (London, 1681), 129.

[6] This information is drawn at large from the writs and the Journal Book previously cited. Cf. William Holdsworth, *History of English Law* (12 vols., London, 1903–38), IX, 112–18, and Appendix II; Lord Chief Justice Goddard, "Habeas Corpus," *Law Quarterly Review,* LXV (Jan. 1949), 33.

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this requirement was fulfilled. During the 1660's there was no set form for the writ and no settled procedure as to how or when it should be issued. The writ could be ordered for any time in the future, as, "after the next assizes," and its return could be ordered either immediately or for any date the judges chose.[7] Much was left to discretion. The judges, however, had many other problems. The court had no means of forcing obedience to the first writ or to an alias; an effective penalty—fine and distraint—only accompanied the third, or pluries, writ, so that a jailer was perfectly within the limits of accepted procedure in not returning the writ or bringing the prisoner to court until he received the third writ. Each writ was issued on the basis of a new motion; no official record was kept until the writ was returned and then only on special motion. Consequently, there was no means of following up an initial petition. Furthermore, no set table of fees existed and the prisoner was responsible for the charges for each writ and the eventual cost of being brought to court. Bail was also a matter of judicial discretion.

Before 1668 these delays and evasions almost negated the effect of the writ. Often it was late in a second court term before the writ was returned by the jailer. Prisoners were rarely brought to court on the first writ and intervals of two and three weeks sometimes elapsed before another writ was issued. It was obviously difficult to get a writ and even then bail was by no means assured. So few cases are extant in which a man brought to court on habeas corpus had been in prison for less than a year that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that length of detention without formal proceedings was a primary factor in any decision to issue the writ.[8] Coordination with the administration was close: references to the attorney general were routine in political cases and the Privy Council often gave its approval before the writ was issued. It is safe to say that the judges were not throwing their weight on the side of individual liberty.

The same delays occurred in criminal as in political cases. In addition to freeing a man from political imprisonment, *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* had a variety of uses, including that of bringing a man again into court to receive judgment after trial. During the Restoration it was also used very

[7] In 1665 the writs for Richard Philpott and Thankful Hebden issued at the end of term were made out as returnable before Wadham Wyndham and Thomas Twisden respectively. PRO/KB/27/16, 5b. The writ for Edward King in the same term was specified as returnable the week after Hilary. PRO/KB/27/16, 3b. The writ for George Dixon was issued as returnable immediately with eighty pounds penalty and was obeyed in Easter term of 1666. PRO/KB/27/16, 8. The writ for John Trueman was ordered to be issued the "first day next term and not before." PRO/KB/27/16, 3.

[8] Joseph Keble reports a judicial opinion of 1662 in which three months was stated to be a reasonable time for delivery, but such was not the practice. No person bailed on a habeas corpus between 1667 and 1669 on a return showing a political crime had been in prison less than a year; most cases show imprisonment of at least two years. Keble, *Reports in the Court of King's Bench* (3 vols., London, 1685), I, 305; PRO/KB/140/30/1 and 2.

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largely to clear the record after punishment, to discharge sureties and recognizances, particularly in connection with the statutory punishments set by the Clarendon Code.[9] Procedure was the same whether the purpose in bringing a man to court was to give judgment, set trial, or obtain release.

In 1666 and 1667 four important cases drew the attention of the House of Commons to infringements of personal liberty. In December 1666 Lord Mordaunt, keeper of Windsor Castle, was accused not only of wrongfully imprisoning William Taylor but of calling the officer who served a habeas corpus writ on him a rogue, saying "that was all the answer he would give to it" and threatening to reimprison Taylor "again and again and keep him prisoner as long as he lived if he brought another Habeas Corpus."[10] In 1667 rumors were rife that Samuel Moyer, a London merchant who had been imprisoned since 1661 on suspicion but never tried, had purchased his freedom for five-hundred pounds only to have two high officers of His Majesty's government quarrel as to which should have the bribe.[11] Clarendon, in 1667, was charged with having "advised and procured divers of his Majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remote islands' garrisons and other places, thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law," while two other articles charged related offenses.[12] Even more significant was the charge brought against Sir John Kelyng, Lord Chief Justice, in December 1667, of having refused to issue habeas corpus so that the prisoner was forced to petition the king.[13] In denying William Farmer a habeas corpus he had said: "Likely he is a dangerous person. We know not what times we live in. We must use a justifiable prudence and not strain the strict rules of law to enlarge those persons which will use their liberties to get the kingdom in a flame."[14]

[9] Robert Beake and Peter Blesset used habeas corpus to end their conviction under the Corporation Act, statutory time of imprisonment having elapsed. In 1668 a writ of habeas corpus was issued for Jacob Fitton, George Barker, and Thomas Naylor, all of whom had been in prison since 1663 or 1664 for refusing to take the oaths. Fitton was bailed, but Barker and Naylor, apparently still having tender consciences, were remanded. Thomas Bose was bailed on habeas corpus two years after he refused to take the oaths and William Careswell after three weeks. Clement Coxal, William Grant, and Willy Gorting used habeas corpus to end their imprisonment on contempt of inferior courts. Dixon was remanded on a return that showed contempt of the Greencloth, but the reason was more probably that he had been in prison a bare three weeks rather than that the Greencloth had special status. PRO/KB/140/30/I.

[10] *Journals of the House of Commons, 1549–1776* (34 vols., London, 1803–20), VIII, 645, 666–67; *Parliamentary History of England,* ed. William Cobbett (36 vols., London, 1806–20), IV, 348 ff.; Keble, *Reports,* II, 7; PRO/KB/27/16, 4b–7, 14b, 21, 37.

[11] Samuel Pepys, *Diary,* Braybrook ed. (4 vols., London, 1893–99), I, 210; *ibid.,* II, 285; *CSPD, 1666–67,* 403; *ibid., 1667,* 129.

[12] *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials,* ed. Thomas B. Howell (34 vols., London, 1809–26), VI, 330–31 (hereafter cited as *State Trials*).

[13] Grey, *Debates,* I, 62–63; *The Diary of John Milward,* ed. Caroline Robbins (Cambridge, Eng., 1938), 159; *Journal of the House of Commons,* IX, 35–36.

[14] *Northey's Notebook,* Lincoln's Inn, Hill Manuscripts, Pascal term, 19 Charles II, "Feimer's Case." Cf. British Museum, Carte Manuscripts, LXXII, fol. 146.

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As a result of these and other revelations, Lord St. John was given leave to introduce a bill in April 1668 to prevent the denying of habeas corpus. This bill was directed primarily against the judiciary and provided that a writ of habeas corpus was to be issued on the first request for it and the prisoner bailed if legal proceedings were not instituted within six months of his commitment.[15] This first bill, killed by the prorogation, seems to have been narrower than the second one, which passed the lower house in 1674, 1675, 1677, and 1679, although its purpose was the same.

In 1670 a different aspect of the problem of personal liberty, that suggested by the charges laid against Clarendon, was attacked by the introduction of the first transportation bill. Directed against administrative practice, this bill of three short paragraphs forbade the transportation of any Englishman without trial and established heavy penalties for infringement.[16] The debates on the bill were a clear indication of two things: the fundamental issue was that of royal prerogative and the question of transportation was closely allied to that of habeas corpus. Solicitor Heneage Finch argued that the bill expressed undue severity and took away from the king powers necessary for orderly government: "You have not left the King any power, and it is in the power of any man to fly in the King's face and turn out any of his officers; and this is the good manners of this Bill."[17] Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Robert Atkyns, Sir Thomas Meres, and Sir Anthony Cope saw no infringement of prerogative while they thought the bill a sound and necessary remedy "in these times of transportation to Jamaica." Atkyns even denied the legal power of the king to send a felon already convicted out of the country. While he stressed the danger of transportation to Jamaica, Sir John Maynard mentioned Tangier, and Cope "would have no man out of the reach of Westminster Hall." As Lee pointed out, "He that is sent to Jersey or Guernsey may be sent to Tangier and so never know what his crimes are and no Habeas Corpus can reach him." Although some objections were raised against the disabilities for aiding or assisting any breach of the principles involved, the bill passed the House of Commons only to be defeated on its first reading in the Lords. Essentially the same bill passed the lower house in 1674 and 1675; it was incorporated into the habeas corpus bill in 1679, becoming articles eleven, twelve, and fourteen of the final act.

The growing unrest at royal policy regarding imprisonment was again manifest in the opening session of 1673, although neither the habeas corpus

[15] *Diary of John Milward*, ed. Robbins, 243, 253, 278.
[16] HMC, Eighth Report, Appendix I, House of Lords MSS, 142.
[17] This and the following quotations from this debate are taken from Grey, *Debates*, I, 236–37.

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nor the prisoners' transportation bill was reintroduced. In the debate on the bill for the King's General and Free Pardon Henry Powle charged that "There have been divers committed by the Privy Council of late and great sending for persons by Serjeants at Arms. If the Privy Counsellors have exceeded their power, persons committed are excluded from all grace and favor of this pardon." Finch defended the clause: "Would you have active persons prisoners of State who in no age were ever thought fit to be exempted? It is necessary for some persons whom you would be sorry to see loose." Lee opposed the bill and wanted to know what was meant by "prisoner of State" and thought it "a dear bought pardon to be against the Petition of Right." Edward Vaughan also objected to the term prisoner of state, "Whoever is a prisoner ought to be so by law—those committed by the King and Council are not prisoners of State and they may have 'Habeas Corpus.'"[18]

The critical session for individual liberty was that of 1674, and the compromises reached at the time determined the nature and scope of the Habeas Corpus Act. Shaftesbury had gone into the opposition and was working closely with the reformers in the House of Commons. Before the session opened, it was widely reported that there were plans to restrict the power of the king. Along with the more spectacular attempt to impeach Arlington, Buckingham, and Lauderdale in the early part of the session, a whole legislative program was presented to secure the "lives, liberties and properties of Englishmen."[19] The transportation bill with slight alterations again passed the House of Commons as did a new habeas corpus bill that included all the major substantive and procedural provisions to be incorporated in the act of 1679. A reason for not amalgamating the two bills at this time was fear of "so many things in the Bill, to overload and sink the ship."[20]

The men and the spirit behind the two bills were the same, and both bills were anathema to the royal family, the ministers, and the courtiers. Throughout the session of 1674 the proponents of both bills were more interested in attacking the king's ministers and justices than in writing reform legislation. Although the theoretical point of one bill was to check ministerial and the other to check judicial policy, the arguments used in both were nearly identical and almost indistinguishable from those employed in two meetings of the committee on grievances.[21]

In promoting the two bills the primary objective of Sir Thomas Clarges,

[18] *Ibid.*, II, 170–71.

[19] *Williamson Papers*, ed. William D. Christie, Camden Society, ser. II, vols. VIII–IX (2 vols., London, 1874), II, 142; PRO/Baschet Transcripts, 90/326; *ibid.*, 99/336; British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 25,123, fols. 22, 25 (hereafter cited as BM Add. MSS).

[20] Grey, *Debates*, II, 338.

[21] *Ibid.*, 338; 364–67; 389–90; 414; 424–25; 433–35.

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Colonel John Birch, William Garroway, Lee, and Meres was to limit or control royal warrants issued by the king's ministers. Clarges said: "It has often been complained, of late, that Ministers of State impose upon his Majesty to sign Warrants of Commitment, and the subject can have no remedy, and the Ministers say, 'it is his Majesty's Warrant;' a thing very indecent, and unfit to be done!"[22] Other objections were raised to ministerial warrants, verbal orders, and to warrants signed only after a man had been jailed and examined. Members objected to the use of royal messengers and to the use of messengers' houses as prisons.[23]

Debates in the House of Commons implied that personal liberty was as much in peril as if there had been no Petition of Right. Proponents of the bills argued the need for legislation "in these days when no writs of Habeas Corpus can be had," and charged that men were being sent to the plantations and to Tangier so that writs from Westminster could not reach them. They complained that men were "committed but where is anyone proceeded against? . . . and no man knows what is become of them." They objected to the use of illegal prisons and unofficial jailers within England as well as on the islands. Clarges even charged that "there were more warrants under the King's hand now, than in two hundred years before."[24]

The ministers and some courtiers rallied to oppose both bills, but it was Secretary Coventry even more than Attorney General North who stated the most effective arguments. He admitted that the secretaries had no power to order imprisonment in their own right but urged the interest of public safety for using royal warrants. He claimed that the whole intelligence system would collapse if imprisonment and examination were not permitted.[25] On February 14, in the committee on grievances' second meeting, Coventry again urged at least "that you define what commitment the Secretaries can make, in case a man would kill the King."[26] At this point Lee, previously the most ferocious of the Commoners, introduced the device that became the final compromise. "If the Secretaries may do it upon necessity, they will not want a necessity, and a pardon for it—would have the 'detainer' made illegal instead of the 'commitment.'" He thus admitted the fundamental legality of a royal warrant and bowed to Coventry's argument that "We can dispose no more of the King's Prerogative by our vote, than he of our Privilege—if you find it troublesome do it by a bill but vote it not 'illegal.' The King's Min-

[22] *Ibid.*, 338.
[23] *Ibid.*, 414, 364, 433.
[24] *Ibid.*, 241, 367.
[25] *Ibid.*, 414, 424. Longleat, Coventry Manuscripts, VIII, fols. 272–72b, contains the draft of a speech to oppose both bills.
[26] The following quotations are also from this debate. Grey, *Debates*, II, 424–25.

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isters will never know how to act, subject to be impeached by you." The House thus implicitly agreed to concentrate on method and control rather than principle and prohibition. In the move to limit royal and ministerial commitment from this time on, the leaders put renewed emphasis on the procedural legislation of the habeas corpus bill—on detainer rather than on commitment. The assured majority, which voted for both habeas corpus and transportation bills in this and succeeding sessions, were not prepared to encroach directly on what was admitted to be a royal prerogative.

Some of the speakers were as suspicious of the judges as they were of the ministers. Powle and Robert Howard disapproved of action on habeas corpus by a single judge in chambers even if it meant denial of bail during vacation. Most of the members of the House of Commons were, however, more interested in ensuring liberty on bail than in distrusting the judges. Lee said: "As for chamber justice, he is not fond of it but in such little things as the bill mentions, the judges are best to be trusted. . . ."[27]

Other legal problems raised by the Commons concerned the clauses establishing penalties for offenses against the transportation bill, of which the lawyers irrespective of their own political convictions always disapproved. Likewise, the provision made for extradition seemed to some members of Commons to establish a second trial which they held to be against the law.[28] In general, Commons' debates on both bills, however, focused on political questions rather than on the legal technicalities of the proposed legislation. The Venetian ambassador commented toward the end of the session: "Nothing has yet been said in the lower house about money for the King, but there has been a debate about altering an ancient custom with respect to arrests. In the execution of these without regard to all the rules and formalities of the Common Law, it is pretended that the nation suffers from abuses practiced by the ministers."[29]

After 1674 both bills were regarded as basic legislation by a majority of the House of Commons and only fragmentary debates survive for 1675 and 1677. In 1675 Andrew Marvell reported to Hull that the habeas corpus bill had passed Commons but made no other comment.[30] Grey noted that Lee objected to the word "obtain" habeas corpus, since it was a writ of right, and that others displayed continued agitation regarding messengers and

[27] *Ibid.*, 433–35.
[28] *Ibid.*, 364–67; 389–90.
[29] *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. Allen B. Hinds (vols. XXXII–XXXVIII, London, 1931–), *1673–75*, 229.
[30] Andrew Marvell, *Poems and Letters*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1952), II, 320.

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"other persons" ordering imprisonment.[31] In that same session of 1675 Secretary Coventry raised new objections to the transportation bill, but legal opinion held it to be "without prejudice to the King's evidence and prerogative" and the bill passed.[32]

The truculent tone of both bills which had so upset both lawyers and ministers in 1674 was gone, and their controversial preambles had been eliminated. In place of the emphatic statement that the law required immediate issue of a habeas corpus writ in any instance of imprisonment, the new preamble, as in the act of 1679, avoided any statement of principle by simply declaring that there had been delays in issuing the writ.[33] The Lee-Shaftesbury preamble to the transportation bill which "carried more than the whole bill besides" was not reintroduced and that bill passed the House of Commons with no preamble.[34]

In 1677 the House of Commons again passed the habeas corpus bill and the House of Lords for the first time started serious consideration of its provisions. Although the bill was not reported out of committee during this session, the tenor of the amendments made then and in 1679 was to modify distinctions dear to certain members of the country party, phraseology intended by them to ensure clear-cut control of the competence and jurisdiction of the ministers, law officers, and courts. Concerning rumors of the Lords' amendments, Cavendish was reported to have said, "It has a good title," but he doubted whether it was a "good bill."[35]

The House of Commons in these debates had thus attacked the entire administrative system of the early Restoration. The renewed insistence on the sanctity of the lives, liberties, and properties of Englishmen inevitably challenged the concept and practices of the Privy Council. In spite of Commons' timidity in facing the issues of royal prerogative, the pressure brought to bear in these debates forced noticeable modifications in the administrative system by the early 1670's. Reforms thus preceded the actual passage of the act.

The greatest administrative irregularities occurred during the early years of the Restoration. The Privy Council, charged with general responsibility for maintaining peace and order, exercised a broad supervision over Commonwealthmen, Conventiclers, and others deemed to be a possible danger to the newly reestablished kingdom. Immediately responsible were the two

[31] Grey, *Debates,* III, 239.
[32] *Ibid.,* 105.
[33] HMC, Ninth Report, Appendix II, House of Lords MSS, 46, 65. PRO/SPDom., 360, No. 62, shows the final preamble in draft form in 1674.
[34] HMC, Ninth Report, Appendix II, House of Lords MSS, 42, 59; Grey, *Debates,* II, 390.
[35] Grey, *Debates,* IV, 348.

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secretaries of state who kept in close touch with the lord and deputy lieutenants and other local officials, all of whom were conciliar appointments.

This administrative system operated almost independently of the superior courts. The Statute of Treasons of 1661 had made much easier the arrest and imprisonment of persons suspected of being dangerous to the government by making high words an overt act of treason. The testimony of one witness was regarded as sufficient for imprisonment and further investigation; two witnesses were necessary for indictment and trial in the courts of common law. Consequently, the secretaries ordered detention on suspicion but ordered further investigation before binding the suspect over for trial.[36]

There was no adequate check on this sprawling administration. Local magistrates still regarded the Privy Council and the secretaries as a higher jurisdiction not theirs to criticize. Many warrants directed the jailer to hold the prisoner "until further order"; relatively few "until delivered by law." Detention ordered in this form was not calendared on the books and such prisoners therefore were not brought before a commission of oyer and terminer or for gaol delivery.[37] In addition, many arrested on suspicion were kept for weeks at a time in the houses of the king's messengers while waiting for further evidence to be produced against them; some were forgotten in the process while the jailer milked the prisoner of fees. The abolition of an arbitrary court such as the Star Chamber to examine and try such persons was in fact counterbalanced by the practice of leaving them in prison without trial.[38]

By 1670 there is little evidence of a real effort by conciliar officers to circumvent the courts. For charges brought in the House of Commons of prisoners sent to the Channel Islands or beyond the seas to avoid habeas corpus there is little evidence after the middle 1660's. Transportation of proven nonconformists and felons was permitted by legislation. Nor is there substance to the charges raised that prisoners were moved from prison to prison so that a warrant could not be served. Such procedures had been used in the early 1660's and remained as a possible expedient, but after the fall of Clarendon there is little evidence that such practices were any part of administrative policy. Although it was difficult to serve and execute a writ on the military keepers of castles or on the king's messengers, and both were widely used as jailers, such writs could be served and there is no evidence

[36] 13 Charles II, Statute I, chap. 1 in *Statutes of the Realm, 1101–1713*, ed. Thomas E. Tomlins and John Raithby (11 vols., London, 1810–28), V, 304–305. For examples of these practices see *CSPD, 1664–65*, 102, 113, 173, 227, 560, 565; *1665–66*, 9, 76; *1666–67*, 196, 235; *1667*, 45, 60, 427.

[37] *State Trials*, VI, 1200.

[38] PRO/KB/140/30/1; *State Trials*, VI, 1197; BM Add. MSS, 25,122, fols. 157–58.

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that the judges themselves were unduly worried or critical of these practices.

The system, however, made delays and irregularities almost inevitable. "You have forgotten to send a warrant for the commitment of the four here. Let it be dated 2 July or I cannot answer the keeping of them," wrote Sir John Robinson to Sir Joseph Williamson in 1671.[39] There were still complaints of imprisonment and detention for reasons that should have been bailable, of delays before the warrants were delivered, and of irregularities in the form of commitment. Under pressure from the House of Commons these abuses were reduced. Henry Coventry was particularly apprehensive of further criticism after 1674, and before the outbreak of the Popish Plot he was much more careful to get proper authorization before ordering arrests.[40] Yet abuses remained. Although the House of Commons spent comparatively little time during the 1670's collecting and presenting concrete evidence, the cases it brought against the ministers unfailingly showed irregularities of procedure in ordering imprisonment. Young Thomas Modiford was imprisoned for some months in 1671 as security for his father's return from Barbados. The Commons' committee on investigation made much of the evidence it uncovered that there had been a second warrant and that procedure for release had been as highhanded as the commitment.[41]

The John Harrington case, investigated by the House of Commons in 1677, demonstrated similar carelessness of procedure and suggested political imprisonment for insufficient cause. Debates closely resembled those on the habeas corpus bill in previous sessions. Because Harrington had information potentially embarrassing to the king's French policy, he was made close prisoner on a warrant to a messenger signed by Secretary Williamson on verbal order from the king. In the Commons' investigation, Williamson did not defend himself well and even Sir William Coventry said it was against the law to retrain a man without a warrant. "How else to have Habeas Corpus? Certainly the observation of our Law deserves a sheet of Paper for a Warrant; if it be not worth that, it is very little worth." He blamed the constable for not requiring a warrant, saying, "for the future, if such commitments be, in God's name, let them be in writing. . . ." Investigation proved the commitment to be for treasonable practices and perhaps for this reason the House did not formally censure the king for the use of verbal warrants, close imprisonment for misdemeanors, and commitment by the Privy Council.[42]

[39] *CSPD, 1671,* 362.
[40] BM Add. MSS, 25,124, fols. 17, 66, 75, 88, 100; 25,123, fol. 16.
[41] Grey, *Debates,* II, 298–99, 301–303, 320, 341–42; *CSPD, 1671,* 244, 504–505, 579.
[42] Grey, *Debates,* IV, 261–65, 268–70, 273–74, 281; *CSPD, 1677–78,* 24.

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Procedures in the Court of King's Bench improved even more than did administrative practices as a result of the protests voiced in the House of Commons. Many of the technical provisions enacted in 1679 were in actual operation by the middle 1670's as a result of reforms within the court itself. Procedures and orders were made regular and orderly and most of the technical abuses practically disappeared. Rarely were the alias and pluries forms of the writ necessary and by 1676 the prisoner was usually in court within a week of the issue of the first writ.[43] Men could usually obtain bail until trial even in cases of treason unless a detailed description of evidence for the charge was specifically stated on the warrant.[44] The number of writs issued and the proportion of men bailed increased significantly.[45]

These changes in the attitude and practices of the Court of King's Bench were due in part to the constitutionally minded Sir Mathew Hale, who had replaced the arbitrary Kelyng as Chief Justice, and in part to a further development of legal theory. Supported by the opinions of Vaughan and Sir Richard Rainsford on the Bench and by the opinions of many of the serjeants, the common law judges by 1675 regarded the writ as the "usual" remedy in cases of imprisonment, marking a real change from earlier theory, as when Sir John Selden had referred to it as the "highest" remedy.[46] In spite of the attitude of the crown, which considered the writ as an affront to the prerogative, habeas corpus had largely superseded the earlier apology to crown and Privy Council as the normal method of obtaining release from imprisonment.[47] The inevitable consequence of the shift was to limit judicial discretion either to grant or to deny the writ as claimed by Kelyng and others in the 1660's and to enforce the position of habeas corpus as a right for any subject deprived of his liberty by whatever authority.

Possibilities for abuse, however, still remained—abuses requiring statutory action either because the judges were not in agreement on precedent or because precedent was lacking. A table of fees to prevent extortion required

[43] Between Hilary, 1676, and Trinity, 1679, the number of writs was never less than twenty a law term and rose far higher at the time of the Popish Plot. In only ten cases in this thirty-month period, all of them political, was more than one writ necessary. In most of the cases in which more than one writ was issued, as in those of Joseph Browne and Harrington in 1677, the writs were issued on successive days so that bail was still arranged within the week. The case of Francis Smartfoot, arrested for refusing to take livery, was an exception. Three writs were issued in Hilary without response and the writ was not filed until Trinity. PRO/KB/27/19, 30–33, 45 and *passim*.

[44] *CSPD, 1678*, 484, 495–97; *1679–80*, 81, 296, 521, 527; PRO/KB/27/19, 159–62.

[45] PRO/KB/140/30/1–2; PRO/KB/27/19, 21.

[46] *The Reports and Arguments of that Learned Judge Sir John Vaughan . . .*, ed. Edward Vaughan (London, 1677), 136; John E. Wilmot, *Notes of Opinions and Judgments*, in *English Reprints*, ed. Max Robertson *et al.* (176 vols., London, 1900–30), XCVII, 102.

[47] *Lord Nottingham's Chancery Cases*, ed. D.E.C. Yale, Selden Society (London, 1957), 430; Richard Baxter, *Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, ed. J. M. Lloyd Thomas (London, 1925), 207.

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legislative action since it involved the consent of innumerable officials over whom King's Bench had no control. Of greater theoretical significance was the unsolved question of the competence of other officers and courts than King's Bench to issue and do justice on the writ. The right of the Court of Common Pleas and Chancery to issue the writ was specified in the Star Chamber Act of 1641: the right of these officers to do justice in any case but that of arbitrary imprisonment by the Privy Council was denied by a majority of the judges after Edward Bushell's case in 1670.[48] Most vexing was the question as to whether any judge had the right to issue the writ during the intervals between court terms. This question, together with the related problem of chamber justice, protested in the House of Commons in 1674, was popularized in the Francis Jenks case in 1676 and the blaze of publicity following this exhibition of judicial timidity and vacillation made the need for legislation apparent to all.[49] By 1676, however, such cases were exceptional. In the vast majority of cases procedure was even and reasonably expeditious. Even at the height of the Popish Plot the delays and abuses that had been normal in the 1660's did not reappear. Yet most of the judges saw need for legislation and the Jenks case alone was sufficient to justify the earlier charges made by the House of Commons.

In 1679 all conditions were favorable for the passage of the act. The men who had most favored it were in command in the House of Commons and Shaftesbury's group was for the first time really influential in the House of Lords. Time and the actual reforms of procedure in King's Bench had also dispelled most of the overt opposition so that the act could be presented in the House of Lords as involving no change in the ancient law.[50] If the Whiggish Sir William Jones was the author of the original bill, Lord North, so long the most articulate opponent of the measure, was chiefly responsible for the amendments made by the House of Lords.[51] The bill passed the House

[48] The Court of Common Pleas issued Bushell a habeas corpus and released him, but threw the technical question of the jurisdiction of that court in a criminal case into the Exchequer chamber. Six months later the judges decided by a vote of eight to four that Common Pleas had overstepped its jurisdiction. The case was instrumental in convincing the legal profession of the need to clarify the ambiguity by further legislation. *Reports,* ed. Vaughan, 145, 154, 157; anon., 1671, in [Lawrence] Carter, *Reports of Special Cases,* in *English Reprints,* ed. Robertson *et al.,* CLXXVI, 221; *Modern Reports* (London, 1679), I, 235; II, 198; Goddard, "Habeas Corpus," 32; *CSPD, 1660–70,* 513, 533; *1671,* 285–86.

[49] Francis Jenks, imprisoned by the Council for contempt in June 1676, tried in vain during the next two months to get bail by every known means except apology to the Council. The case showed clearly that the medieval writs were archaic and pointed out irreconcilable differences in legal theory held by King's Bench and Chancery. Jenks was finally bailed irregularly by an inferior court, admittedly to stop further public clamor. *State Trials,* VI, 1193–1207; *Lord Nottingham's Chancery Cases,* ed. Yale, 429–35; Clement Swanston, *Reports of Cases* (2 vols., New York, 1826), II, 14–15, 46–47.

[50] Longleat, Coventry MSS, VIII, fols. 234, 279b; BM Add. MSS, 35,865, fols. 72-73b.

[51] W. D. Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury* (2 vols., London, 1871), cites as authority for this

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of Commons rapidly and was at once given its first two readings in the House of Lords, referred to a committee of the whole house and then to a select committee ordered to meet during the Easter recess. On May 2 it passed the House of Lords and was returned to Commons with extensive amendments.

Detailed and meticulous, the amendments made by the upper house were of two kinds: they amplified and edited the phraseology by which the intention of the bill was made clear beyond possibility of evasion and they added six new clauses which clarified but restricted the scope of the act. These provisos excluded prisoners for debt or civil process, prevented use of the writ to evade action at the assizes, deprived men of the privilege of a writ during vacation if they had neglected to request it during two terms, protected imprisonment on suspicion of felony if ordered by justices of the peace, protected contracts made by merchants for immigration on contract, and provided that men impleaded for breach of the act should be able to plead the general issue.[52] Restrictive as were many of these additions, the Commons accepted them all without question. They insisted, however, on another new clause providing for the issue of the writ immediately after the assizes as the price for its not being issued immediately preceding.[53]

Not all the Lords' amendments were so easily accepted. A series of joint conferences between the two houses throughout May indicated the continuing determination of Commons to prohibit unusual commitments—by which they meant the use of messengers and verbal warrants by the secretaries or the Privy Council—and to restrict all action under the statute to courts of record, again an attempt to ensure no increase of jurisdiction by the Council.[54] The Lords, undoubtedly inspired by North, regarded these provisions as unnecessary and were adamant in their opposition, fearing that they would augment the jurisdiction of King's Bench and further endanger the balance of the courts.[55] Shaftesbury's greatest contribution may well have been that of preventing these disagreements from hardening beyond the point of compromise. On May 27 the Commons essentially accepted the Lords' version.[56] Their fears proved groundless: the era of conciliar warrants was essentially at an end without more specific legislation. Political prisoners after 1679

statement a marginal note in Narcissus Luttrell's personal copy of *Absalom and Achitophel*, II, 333. MSS Committee Book, House of Lords, Apr. 21, 23, 1679, 348–51, shows North's role at this time. Roger North, Legal Pamphlets, BM Add. MSS, 32,519, fols. 109–11.

[52] Clauses three, seven, twelve, seventeen, nineteen, twenty.

[53] Clause eighteen.

[54] May 3, 16, 1679, *Journal of the House of Commons*, IX, 611, 623.

[55] May 8, 24, 1679, *Journal of the House of Lords*, XIII, 562, 589.

[56] May 27, 1679, *ibid.*, 595.

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were for the most part handled as other offenders and imprisoned on regular warrants signed by a justice of the peace.

The principles of the act of 1679 were those of the two Commons' bills of 1674 and covered the problems that had arisen during the Restoration. Three clauses (one, two, nine) provided for the immediate issue and return within three days of the writ without the use of alias and pluries in term and in vacation, established the competence of all the judges of the superior courts, and provided for necessary certification and transfer of records. Two further clauses (sixteen, eighteen) provided for bail to be followed by discharge if, in spite of petition, trial were delayed beyond two terms. Two clauses (eight, ten) specified that the writ extended to all parts of His Majesty's realm and prohibited the transfer of prisoners from prison to prison save on court order. Four clauses (eleven, twelve, thirteen, fifteen) made transportation illegal while protecting extradition proceedings, contractual immigration to the colonies, and the transportation of convicted felons. The remaining five clauses established penalties for noncompliance or abuse but provided against ex post facto proceedings, set a two-year limitation for prosecution, and permitted defendants to plead the general issue. As the Noble Venetian remarked in Sir Henry Neville's *Plato Redivivus:*

> You have made an act here lately about imprisonments; that every person shall have his habeas corpus, I think you call it: so that no man, for what occasion soever, can lie in prison above a night, but the cause must be revealed, though there be great cause for the concealing it.[57]

The great exception, although there was never any intention of dealing with it, was in the case of a man imprisoned on order of either house of Parliament. Shaftesbury's imprisonment of 1677 was untouched and his own habeas corpus case of no influence on the statute. A man imprisoned by this superior jurisdiction was outside the protection of His Majesty's courts.

Charles II accepted the act in 1679 because it was no longer controversial and probably because he hoped it would placate the Commons and save Danby. As with the other great constitutional reforms of the seventeenth century, it was not really a party measure. It limited the king in the way in which the Stuarts, the Venetian ambassador, and other commentators had foreseen in 1674, without going as far as its original proponents desired. Conservatives could argue that it did not change the ancient law. Procedure in the courts had of recent years approached that enacted in May 1679 but legislation was essential to ensure the liberty of Englishmen from arbitrary imprisonment at the hands of a willful monarch and a supine bench.

[57] Sir Henry Neville, *Plato Redivivus* (London, 1681), 258–59.

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Contemporary testimony referred vaguely to the Habeas Corpus Act as a "kind of enlarging of Habeas Corpus," although Care voiced general opinion in calling it "this most wholesome law."[58] The act was, in fact, far more effective than even its adherents had anticipated. By 1680 Sir Leoline Jenkins remarked that "since the Habeas Corpus act no words but those of downright high treason will deprive a seditious person of his liberty" and complained that "no governors have ever been so much manacled as ours are."[59] By 1683 Roger L'Estrange reported with relish that the Shaftesbury men "who obtained Habeas Corpus to bind the King . . . now found it turned against them."[60] Thomas Goddard wrote in *Plato's Demon:* "Since the act of Habeas Corpus I think I may confidently affirm that even at this time when there is so much danger of a pretended slavery the subjects of England enjoy greater liberty than was known to any of our ancestors before us."[61] L'Estrange had suggested something of the same sort in 1678 when he compared the reformers of 1677 with those of 1641 in trying to "insinuate the King in some cases accomptable to his People and secondly to provoke the people by suggesting that their souls and their liberties are at stake and to make use of that power."[62] The act was political in so far as it represented the fundamental conflict between the king and Parliament; its passage was undoubtedly due to the initiative of the country party but as Macaulay said of the period in which James was trying to get its repeal: "It was not more dear to the Whigs than to the Tories."[63]

[58] HMC, *Ormonde MSS,* n.s. (8 vols., Hereford, 1908), V, 39; Care, *English Liberties,* 129.
[59] *CSPD, 1679–80,* 600; *1682,* 419.
[60] Oct. 24, 1683, *Observator,* I, 425.
[61] Thomas Goddard, *Plato's Demon* (London, 1684), 321.
[62] Roger L'Estrange, *An Account of the Growth of Knavery* (2d ed., London, 1681), 8–9.
[63] Thomas B. Macaulay, *History of England* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1856), II, 15.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire: Rostovtzeff's Classic After Thirty-Three Years

STERLING DOW*

WHEN it first appeared in 1926, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (hereinafter *SEHRE*) had strong but diverse effects. H. M. Last gave some of its statements and theories nine pages of unfavorable examination.[1] It is doubtful whether anyone accepted as wholly correct the theory of the cause of the "fall" of Rome. Tenney Frank organized the compilation of a six-volume ten-man collaborative *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (*ESAR*), designed to set forth the actual economic facts without theorizing. In *ESAR* the social aspects, presumably regarded as being more conducive still to theorizing, in the main were left to one side, and, though also with exceptions, the political; but the contributors were allowed scope and exercised it. The mere existence of these volumes was in some degree a criticism of *SEHRE*.

On the other hand *SEHRE* was read. Whatever its faults, it was actually the first considerable work on the whole economic and social history of the Roman Empire. Its critics had to agree that it was a book of major importance. By 1940 it was out of print in English. Meantime in 1931 a two-volume edition, much improved in details, though not altered in the main theories, appeared in German. This also has gone out of print long since. In 1933 an Italian version, likewise enlarged, superseded the German of 1931.

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[1] *Journal of Roman Studies,* XVI (Pt. 1, 1926), 120–28. For an excellent detailed review of the new "edition," see Henry C. Boren in *Classical Journal,* LIV (Apr. 1959), 326–29, and for bibliographical details, my review in the *American Journal of Philology,* LXXX (No. 4, 1959), 436–40.

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Rostovtzeff was, he said of himself, "kein Freund von Polemik" and he was not much swayed by his critics (*SEHRE,* 1931, p. ix). They were only occasionally mentioned (e.g., chap. XII, n. 1) in the new versions. The buoyancy that originally had been built into the great freighter of scholarship carried it on past the reefs of criticism; and Rostovtzeff fell to work on an enormous new construction, published in 1941, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (*SEHHW*).

In 1957 Oxford reissued *SEHRE.* There is no substantial change from the Italian edition, since the new printing is put before us expressly as that of a "classic" of historical writing (p. vii). That it is in some sense a classic no one can dispute. Taking it on the lowest plane, any work for which, after a whole generation has passed, there is profit in resetting 890 pages of learned print plus eighty plates, is definitely a classic. But on a higher plane the new version prompts real questions: What kind of a classic? How long is it likely to remain one?

Final answers, when they can be given, will come from experts, and probably only after a still longer interval. Meantime others, like myself, thinking back to their first reading when the book was new in the twenties, can perhaps give tentative answers. There is already a body of widely scattered writings about historiographical and "philosophical" aspects of *SEHRE,* with much also on Rostovtzeff's work as a whole. These are collected for the first time in the bibliographical note appended; under the first title, T. Frank's article, summarized, gives a convenient précis and estimate of *SEHRE.* In what follows I have made no special effort to attain novelty, but there is not, I think, much overlapping except as indicated.

Except where it seemed necessary, I have not attempted a critique of Rostovtzeff's lifework as a whole. If that were to be done, many of the following statements would need to be modified, some of them virtually reversed. The reader who wishes to go further could best begin with C. Bradford Welles's excellent account in *Festschrift Usher.*

Topics Omitted. One obvious kind of limitation must be accepted. At this date, there is no point in emphasizing the fact that additions to *SEHRE* can easily be made. *SEHRE* could not, and did not attempt to, cover everything. Literary papyri, epheboi, festivals, and dozens of other subjects—Macedonia, Achaea, Crete-Cyrenaica among provinces—were simply left out. The fundamental but vexatious task of trying to establish facts about population was also not attempted—with instinctive wisdom, because the type of inquiry was not suited to Rostovtzeff, nor were the tools then at hand which A. E. R. Boak has now used with such power.

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The Main Achievements. The principal features of *SEHRE,* which are its main achievements, are three in number. (1) It brought into ancient history an extreme form of "social-and-economic" history. (2) It enlarged the role of archaeology until for some phases of the subject archaeology (rightly) became more important than the "literary" sources, or provided materials for history where there were no literary sources at all. (3) It interpreted some phases of Roman history, especially the fall of Rome, in the light of modern conditions and events, chiefly Russian.

There was no binding inner connection between these three features. (1) Social-and-economic history can easily, but does not always have to, use archaeology. (2) Archaeology supplies material, some of which can be used for social-and-economic studies, but it is material that can be, and generally is, used for many other noneconomic studies, ranging from topography to the history of art. And (3) the Russian interpretation that Rostovtzeff placed upon his data was an interpretation that sometimes had little relation to the data. Each of the three features can therefore be considered by itself.

(1) *Social-and-Economic History. SEHRE* was written in the very period when the "new history" was in vogue. Justly or not, World War I and its aftermath had produced a disillusionment that tended to spread from the more recent to the more remote past. Debunking did not stop at George Washington and Queen Victoria. All great figures of the past could become suspect, not just Florence Nightingale but even more, of course, the generals: for all militarism was hated. The feeling was that the time had come to prune away the magnifications and glorifications which usually begin in any prominent man's own lifetime, and end by blowing him up to such proportions that posterity cannot help but be deceived. The "great" figures of the past must be cut back to size. In ancient history the monument of this school is Sir Ronald Syme's *Roman Revolution* (1939), a work in many ways superior to Rostovtzeff's. But it is the differences in the way of thinking, and not the excellences of the result, that concern us now. Syme was looking for the springs of human actions—the actions that together make up history—in the individual's interests, as determined in large part by the intensely personal fact of a man's position in society. This is "social" history in terms of the units of society: individual persons whose real motives are thought to be largely determined by society.

The psychology of individual motivation was not for Rostovtzeff, though he wrote in the same period and his work was prompted by the same general notions. He took precisely the opposite direction. In his view of history, though he was by no means so doctrinaire as to omit individuals (any more

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than Syme excluded mass forces)—on the contrary, Rostovtzeff assigned decisive roles to some individuals in some periods (chap. 1, *passim*)—still this was exceptional. "Past politics" is there, rather like a background out of focus in a photograph. In the foreground, sharp or not, are mass facts: classes and their economic bases. Rostovtzeff was an extrovert and what might be called an "unhappy Marxian." Whereas to most ordinary Marxians, grim though they are, the class struggle will end in a desirable dictatorship of the proletariat, to Rostovtzeff the operation of economic forces can end, and in the case of Rome did end, by dragging all the classes together over the edge into the abyss.

SEHRE was Rostovtzeff's most social-and-economic work, and it is probably the most extreme interpretation of the kind among all first-rate works about antiquity. In his *History of the Ancient World* (2 vols., 1926–27), he had reduced Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War to ten pages; but no war gets that much space in *SEHRE*.

Later, when he came to write *SEHHW* (1941), Rostovtzeff devoted a much larger proportion of space to "political" history. In general, he thought of himself as definitely not a "materialist" (autobiographical note in Welles, *Russian Review,* XII [Apr. 1953], 129). This is yet another vague term about which, since he provides no discussion, it would be unprofitable to argue. Certainly he was not a close student of the Marxian dialectic; on the other hand, he was interested in ancient religion and in a range of various concerns of the human spirit.

The Essential Inspiration. No objective statement does justice to Rostovtzeff's essential inspiration. The social-and-economic notion is still today, and thirty years ago was far more, an inward thing, an excitement caused by a revelation. The mood can hardly be fully recaptured, but it can perhaps be suggested. Tremendous forces were glimpsed, often (it is true) dimly, from before the Gracchi on to Constantine. Politics was only a windstorm compared to the seismic power of basic economic facts, which operated constantly and at times shook the whole structure. Individual men were little creatures living on the crust, whole classes of them hopping simultaneously, helplessly, and interestingly, when the economic earthquakes shook the surface. In a word, Rostovtzeff provided dynamic new things to study. By displacing petty details of laws, treaties, officials, and unending military campaigns, *SEHRE* opened up for students phenomena that were (or were felt to be) really big.

Doubtless he did not give an altogether correct idea of what was involved. As A. H. M. Jones has rightly urged (see bibliographical note), throughout almost the whole of Greek and Roman antiquity, agriculture was by far the

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most important economic activity. Land was the chief form of property, and in the main landed property was the basis of classes that endured. With important exceptions, agriculture was carried on nearly everywhere only for local consumption. To any modern, conditions would seem static, even stagnant. International commerce was limited. Rostovtzeff not seldom exaggerates commerce and tends to slight agriculture: commerce is movement, and it was part of Rostovtzeff's temperament to want movement—incessant, profound, seismic.

Nevertheless, it would not be magnanimous now to dwell on the misconceptions. By and large, the masses were certainly not class conscious: let that too pass. The important thing is that in *SEHRE,* as in nearly everything he wrote, the vitality was there, and was communicated. Vitality was and is so valuable that after more than thirty years, an eight-guinea reprint will undoubtedly sell out. The dull nineteenth-century ponderosity of statement and of feeling is gone. Syme and Rostovtzeff brought excitement back to Roman history: Syme, with a study of individual motivation, to the period when individuals mattered most; Rostovtzeff, with a study of the movements of classes, to the period when one enormous state, the largest, relatively, in all history, covered most of the civilized earth, and historical forces could reasonably be expected to be massive.

(2) *Archaeology.* Of archaeology Rostovtzeff made both a general and a particular use. The particular use was for illustrations (printed plates, liberally scattered through the book, and verbal illustrations); but each of them was meant to point to general facts. Rostovtzeff had prodigious knowledge of the material: he traveled and inspected the remains; he knew scholars the world over; he wrote for journals everywhere.

His method was evocative and impressionistic. From the artifacts he conjured up those classes who made, those who shipped, those who sold, and those who bought. The Pompeian mansion, the Roman insula, the villa in Britain all told him about classes of builders, owners, inhabitants, laborers. So many archaeological data had passed through his mind—probably no historian before or since has known so much of it—that he could discern general aspects where scholars who knew less saw nothing. And so he peopled whole provinces.

In the 1920's there was much fondness for novel vistas, and Rostovtzeff loved archaeology for its novelty—not solely for its novelty, however, but also for its vividness and concreteness, and for the opportunity it gave to him and to others for creating history, whether of the two Germanys or of Nubia. By comparison, how confining are "literary" data, always needing to be criti-

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cized textually, dated, discounted for bias and ignorance, and when all that is done, what is left but to repeat and expand the residue of information? Such is the mood induced. It is not the truth, it is not fair to Rostovtzeff to state the matter so; but the feeling is real. In successive generations, Theodor Mommsen, Heinrich Schliemann, Sir Arthur Evans, and many others found potent special values in archaeology. Rostovtzeff showed how to color with the vividness of archaeology a vast impressionistic canvas.

(3) *Terms.* From its first publication and ever since, no reader, surely, has been unaware that with hearty naïveté Rostovtzeff read the fall of Russia, as he saw it, into the fall of Rome. The great political event of his own life became, undisguisedly, the clue to understanding "the most important event in the history of the world" (M. P. Nilsson). On this there is nothing new to say. Happily the book can be read almost to the end without thinking about it.

But the book cannot be read without encountering on every page a series of vague modern terms. These terms can only trouble anyone who wants all the clarity of concept he can get in the terms and other details, especially when the painting as a whole is impressionistic. If ever there was a term loaded with specific mental, moral, economic, and general cultural connotations, it is "bourgeoisie." "Proletariat" is nearly as bad. Rostovtzeff used both unconcernedly. Applied to modern economic phenomena, "capitalism" is more vague, or rather has an exact general meaning. In *SEHRE* one is usually at a loss to know whether it indicates financing by private means and for private gain, as distinct from community financing, or simply, on a large scale; whether it relates to possession of tools and other resources, or to division of profits among an organized group, or to control by such a group. One of the vices of social-and-economic history, as of sociology in general, is a hankering for pretentious verbiage; and sometimes in *SEHRE* the term is used, I fear, with no real content in mind. The word "class" is frequent, of course, and "industry" also lacks, all too often, a precise content.

There are other terms, all modern and undefined. How can this weakness be understood in a scholar whose respect for exactitude can be seen constantly in his treatment of events, objects, and references?

The suggestion may be ventured that Rostovtzeff, in these aspects of his thought, imbibed a whole set of terms and vague concepts during his own formative years, and that by 1926 he had not questioned, he had not outgrown them. Doubtless the meanings, however vague, were satisfactory for Russian intellectuals, and no doubt a case could be made for vague expressions where the evidence, as so often for antiquity, is inadequate. Disarm-

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ingly, Rostovtzeff said so: "He [J. G. C. Anderson] made me give a definite statement in many cases where I was inclined to remain vague: evidently the English mind, in this respect unlike the Slavonic, dislikes a lack of precision" (*SEHRE,* 1926, p. xv; 1957, p. xviii). Born in 1870, he grew up just as Russia belatedly was entering the Industrial Revolution. "Capitalism" and "socialism," "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat," "classes" and "masses" were words in the air all about him. Doubtless the meanings, however vague, were still precise enough so that Russian intellectuals could talk to, or at, each other. In the United States he might have unlearned some of the lingo, might have learned instead to be more flexible and exact in his terms. But he was already forty-eight when he left Russia, and when *SEHRE* was published he had been in the United States only six years. And so the concepts remained unanalyzed in Rostovtzeff's mind, to appear uncritically in his book.

It is more than possible that the early influences went well beyond mere terms. Russian history was being written as a story of classes rising, interacting, falling. No one went further in this than Vasilii O. Kliuchevskii, whose *History of Russia* is the supreme example of history written as a fantastic complex of vast tidal forces. Published from 1904 on, it was not alone, or without a stream of predecessors. Just which (earlier) works of this sort influenced Rostovtzeff, I do not know, but undoubtedly in some sense Kliuchevskii helps us to understand *SEHRE.*

Vitality. The foregoing general discussion of the contents of *SEHRE* has inevitably led to remarks on its qualities, which are as important as contents, surely, for assessing a classic.

Many of the qualities unite together in such adjectives as positive, dynamic, exuberant. In little details, the captions to the illustrations themselves illustrate this point: the interpretation is always as lively as the scene will warrant. But in large matters, the best qualities of *SEHRE* are best seen in Chapters v–vii, the survey of the Empire in its second century. Here there is nothing stale. In a few pages—too few, one is bound to feel today—the results of decades of work by the *Reichslimeskommission* are served up with the spice of fresh interest. About the much-discussed Roman remains in England, for another instance, some lively things are said. These chapters, like the others, are not easy reading: too much happens. Even the second century is not allowed to be mellow and placid, is never dwelt upon with restful appreciation. Instead, we have an energetic account of people constantly expending energy.

With so much exuberance, one might expect some flat and weak spots, but these are small and rare. The author's energy is amazingly sustained.

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Exuberance is also associated often with errors about facts, but here too the level is extraordinary. Rostovtzeff was a scholar not least in the sharpness of his factual knowledge. More curious still is his occasional restraint in unexpected places, about trade with the Far East, for instance. Interested and informed as he was about Greek, Roman, and even Persian remains in China —able to publish articles and to bring forth such surprising terracottas as those of the foreign traveling merchants in China on plate twenty-five—still Rostovtzeff declared roundly that all this was of little economic importance. No doubt he was right.

But he was not always right. His great knowledge suggested tempting analogies and other associations, and his exuberance propelled him on. Because Statius mentioned gold mines in Dalmatia, a relief from Pannonia showing a workman swinging a pick is implied to be a man, or even a deity, mining gold (plate 43.2). Statius was doubtless right about the gold, but, as I hope to show elsewhere, the figure is surely that of a quarryman in a quarry.

Going further along this line, and encouraged by A. H. M. Jones's phrase (p. 361), "Rostovtzeff was not altogether a safe historian," may one not say that *SEHRE* can rarely be quoted as objective and substantial proof of any large statement, but only as Rostovtzeff's impression? The question is reasonable, but it is not an utter or even a very serious condemnation. No big synthetic "classic" can be quoted uncritically; some effort must be made to discover what the sources say and to examine how carefully the author of the synthesis has examined them.

There can be little doubt, however, that in a field so broad as three centuries of the Roman Empire, and so thronged with multitudinous evidence, it is difficult to speak with finality. Rostovtzeff found no occasion to mention T. Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (yet on Roman roads in Greece Mommsen was right [Eng. trans. Vol. I, p. 294] where *SEHRE,* p. 162, is wrong); similarly, *SEHRE* may already have begun before now to fade out. The *Cambridge Ancient History,* Volume XI, has some mentions of *SEHRE* but, more recently, Boak's *Manpower* finds it necessary merely to quote in a note what "seems to be" Rostovtzeff's opinion.[2]

The Essential Character of SEHRE. With this evidence before us, the essential character of *SEHRE* as a classic can hardly be mistaken. It is the pioneer work in a new field. Its traits are those commonly found in pioneer works. It embodies a vast, though naturally incomplete, gathering of knowl-

[2] *Cambridge Ancient History,* ed. J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock (Cambridge, Eng., 1923–39); A. E. R. Boak, *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955).

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edge, references being packed into notes which, even if they were nothing but bibliography, would have value. Actually, however, many of them are brief essays of enduring worth. The very incompleteness of the work has some pioneer aspects: for instance, there is only one reference to St. Paul, doubtless because the author's exploration had not yet reached the New Testament, where there are some illustrations of economic life likely to delight Rostovtzeff. Compartmentalized studies are to blame, a rare thing with Rostovtzeff. But in the case of Diocletian's Price Edict, which any outsider might judge to be the one most important document of all for *SEHRE,* there is a different cause. Rostovtzeff neglected the Price Edict because his interest was running low, and his interest was low because he saw Diocletian as czaristic.

Such are the weaknesses of a bold pioneer work. Its strength is in the host of robust sweeping appraisals of vast areas and periods, represented by data at once numerous and sporadic. Statistics, even such as can be had, are infrequent. The appraisals are essentially insights, not reasoned judgments. There is hardly any discussion of opposite views, no nice weighing of alternatives, no explicit appreciation of an opponent's position. Rostovtzeff did not like to argue, with anyone else or with himself.

To attempt to find in *SEHRE,* or for that matter in his work as a whole, firm, adequate, consciously articulated principles, or conclusions either, of historical thinking, is to risk missing what is most valuable in Rostovtzeff. Granted, it may be a weakness not to be more precise and more philosophical. It is true also, to add another debit item, that Rostovtzeff was too much an extrovert to have developed subtlety in dealing with human nature. To go to him for either philosophy or psychology would be a mistake. Other great historians have had comparable, though perhaps not the same, weaknesses. Though strictly unimportant, these aspects are worth mention because they bring into higher relief the massive and enduring strengths.

In short, there is in *SEHRE* energetic, thrilling, pioneer exploitation, but not mature finality: mundane Herculean toil, but not celestial Apolline intelligence. Still, is it not true that the labors of Hercules have remained more interesting than anything Apollo ever did?

And after all, in a third of a century, nothing has actually replaced *SEHRE.* The reprint holds the field.

Bibliographical Note

The reviews I have seen were not to any important extent "philosophical," but there is already a small body of general critical evaluations. They are not confined strictly to *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (*SEHRE*).

Readers may wish to refer to the following works:

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Tenney Frank, "Recent Work on the Economic History of Ancient Rome," *Journal of Economic and Business History,* I (No. 1, 1928), 105–18; only two pages, 111 and 113–114, on *SEHRE,* but brilliant: "in many respects . . . most important work of our generation . . . daring and original." Rostovtzeff was not interested in the processes of economic life, e.g., behavior of soil, mechanics of industry, but rather in the evolution of Roman society under economic changes. Frank has the best short summary of the theme: "The earlier emperors, by an active policy of urbanizing, built up a state based upon the city bourgeoisie of the whole empire, and later a sharp antagonism arose between the oppressed peasantry—now serving in the army—and the prosperous bourgeoisie of the cities, and this antagonism expressed itself in the anarchy of the third century, which in turn led to the final *débâcle.*" "Every step of that argument is being criticized. . . ."

George Vernadsky, article (in Slavic) on Rostovtzeff, *Seminarium Kondakovianum,* IV (1931), 245–52; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Aspetti di Michele Rostovtzev," *La Nuova Italia,* IV (No. 5–6, 1933), 160–64; *id.,* "Rostovtzeff's Twofold History of the Hellenistic World," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LXIII (1943), 116–17; Meyer Reinhold, "Historian of the Classic World: A Critique of Rostovtzeff," *Science and Society,* X (No. 4, 1946), 361–91; C. Bradford Welles, "Michael I. Rostovtzeff," in *Architects and Craftsmen in History: Festschrift für Abbott Payson Usher,* ed. Joseph T. Lambie (Tübingen, 1956), 55–73. Welles's article is the definitive biographical and historical account.

Obituaries with evaluations include: A(rnold) H. M. Jones, *Proceedings of the British Academy,* XXXVIII (1952, pub. 1954?), 347–61; Hugh M. Last, *Journal of Roman Studies,* XLIII (1953), 133–34; Arnaldo Momigliano, *Rivista di storica italiana,* LXV (No. 4, 1953), 481–95; C. Bradford Welles, *Gnomon,* XXV (No. 2, 1953), 142–44; *id., Russian Review,* XII (Apr. 1953), 128–33. The last-named quotes an otherwise unpublished essay by Rostovtzeff on his own development. It is brief but very significant.

The definitive bibliography of Rostovtzeff, with an introduction, and subdivided into twenty categories, which themselves are interesting, is by C. Bradford Welles, in *Historia,* V (No. 3, 1956), 358–81. F. S. Crawford has kindly supplied the following supplements: No. 4, Archäologische Chronik des römischen Westens. The date of Volume IX of *Filologicheskoe Obozrenie* (**Филологическое обозрѣніе**) is 1895. No. 137, Ein neuer Annonatypus. The date of Volume XVI of *Filologicheskoe Obozrenie* is 1899. No. 254, Les Matres gauloises et la Terra Mater gréco-romaine. Published in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquitaires de France,* 1925, pp. 205–13 (communication read at a session of the Société, Apr. 22, 1925).

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The Right in France: A Working Hypothesis

EUGEN WEBER*

THE events that shook France in 1958 appear as the culmination of an eleven-year progress of the Right to power, of a development in which the exclusion of the extreme Left from political significance precluded either a policy or a majority of the Left.[1] This situation, however, obvious enough in the last few years, was not restricted to the Fourth Republic but obtained during most of the life of the Third. In fact, for the greater part of its span, the politics of the Third Republic were also dominated by what were in effect majorities of the Right and Center to whose problems Philippe Pétain and Vichy brought a solution that was neither unacceptable nor, necessarily, unexpected.

Of course, terms like "Left" and "Right" are notoriously treacherous, and I use them here in the simplest, most classic sense, which François Goguel presented as the opposition between a party of movement and one of established order: the extreme of one treating revolution, of the other reaction, as at least intellectually acceptable concepts. As it loses its interest in change and abandons the possibility of revolution, partly because of objectives achieved or rendered irrelevant by other changes, a party shifts from Left to Right in an evolution that was followed during the first half of the Third Republic by "republicans" and Radicals, during the second half by Socialists. It becomes what the French call "governmental" before it gets into the government, and "moderate" when it has done so. And the best criterion by which it may be placed to Left or Right may be found in its attitude toward reform: does it want change at any price, even that (at least in principle) of revolution? Or is its attitude to change a conservative one, placing order and unity above any possible need for reform? The latter attitude may not place a man or group on the Right, but it will ensure that, when pressed, they will lean toward it.

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[1] An earlier version of this paper with the title "No Enemies on the Right" was read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 1958. My intention, then as now, was not to bring up new facts or replace one dogma by another, but rather to suggest that another look at the facts we already possess may show them in a fresh light; and that a different working hypothesis than the one we have used quite fruitfully for many years might well bring out new aspects of the recent past, facilitating a fuller understanding of its many-sided history.

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We know, of course, that much of the history of the Third Republic was haunted by the presence of a "Right," irreconcilable, or untrustworthy, or declared to be so, and that this forced the repeated coalition of groups that agreed on the importance of preserving the Republic though they agreed on little else. The necessity of guarding the regime from its enemies blurred party differences and seemed to prevent the formation of a conservative majority capable of clarifying the issues or of representing the large moderate section of French public opinion.

After 1947 this situation seems to be reversed. The regime apparently had to be guarded against the Communist threat; and the anti-Communist coalitions this called for, the virtual exclusion of Communists from the parliamentary game without, however, their actual or legal expulsion, all this prevented the formation of any coherent majority of the Left (of change, of social and economic reform), and threw power into the hands of those very moderates who had stood discredited and apparently powerless after 1944. The ensuing and inevitable confusion, the increasing impotence and immobilism of such disparate and friable majorities held together only by anti-Communism as their predecessors had been by republicanism, was complicated by a national, indeed nationalist, reaction to French difficulties, defeats, and decline. This led, as we know, to a grave crisis and the eventual abandonment of the Fourth Republic in circumstances that, to many, suggested odd parallels to the end of the Third.[2]

This part of the development seems clear enough. What is not so clear, certainly not so well known, is that it comes not as the culmination of an eleven-year trend to the Right, but of a shift begun some seventy years ago, quite early in the history of a Third Republic, whose tale is too often told in terms of the great slogan of "No Enemies on the Left." I want to emphasize that "No Enemies on the Left" has stood, or been taken to stand, for many years as one of the major rules of the French political road—a road upon which traffic was presented as moving to, and mainly on, the Left ever since 1789. The way to read and interpret recent French history seemed to be in terms of a leftward trend to which the occasional setback made little difference in the long run. The accepted pattern was that of a series of developments that increased the majorities of the Left, and within which every step back was compensated by two steps forward, at least in the fullness of time.

Yet this whole picture of France as a country where the Left was either

[2] See Jean Le Cour Grandmaison, *La France catholique*, June 6, 1958: "Et dussé-je étonner certains, je dirai que les raisons qui déterminent aujourd'hui mon attitude vis-à-vis du général de Gaulle sont exactement les mêmes qui m'ont, en juillet 1940, décidé à remettre au Maréchal Pétain les pouvoirs de la 3e République défaillante."

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dominant or in the ascendant is contradicted by the awkward fact of persistent majorities of the Right and Center in practically all the elections of the Third Republic between 1893 and 1932; and also, I would be inclined to say, in the electoral consultations of the last ten years. It is spoiled when we remember that, of the ten heads of state France has had since 1913, only one, Vincent Auriol, was not a man of the Right or Center, not clearly elected against some less moderate candidate. Three times in the last century the apparent victory of a Left-wing coalition has ended, after the disintegration of the alliance, in the return to power of variously labeled conservatives culminating in the rule of an *homme providentiel.* The success of the *Bloc des gauches* at the beginning of the century was followed by its disintegration and the rise of *Poincarisme;* the short-lived approbation of the Popular Front in the thirties died of the reaction that ended at Vichy; and the brief hopes of the Liberation coalition in the mid-forties vanished in the ostracism of the Communists and the political incoherence that put an end to the Fourth Republic.

Here we are faced with a twofold question. Why should these triumphs of the Left be so brief in a country where the myth of the Left is dominant? Why should the myth of the Left persist before a reality in which the very opposite is true, and where the most superficial observer can see the party of change divided and ineffective, the forces of established order dominant?

Part of the answer seems to be that myths triumph over conflicting realities by persuading them to adopt their language, to use it as camouflage or passport. In some cases the camouflage is so effective that it persuades all parties, it enters the climate of opinion, and can be referred to without analysis or question. Its validity is accepted, and in order to be effective it need make no more sense than a password does. In this particular case, such survival and repetition have encouraged a persistent misinterpretation of French history in which, for over half a century, the political trend as manifest in parliament, in governmental policies, and in the combinations and permutations of parties has been not toward the Left, let alone toward revolution, but toward moderation and conservatism. It has not been for revolution but against it; not so much in favor of change as of order and the *status quo,* a situation dominated by that "counter-revolutionary" current which David Thomson describes as "blunting some consequences of the Revolution by accepting and turning against them some of its other consequences and implications."[3]

[3] "In politics," he continues, "this current took two forms—Liberalism and Bonapartism: in religion it took the form of Liberal Catholicism." David Thomson, *Democracy in France* (London, 1946), 30.

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The next question that arises is how this came about. And here the crux of the answer seems to lie in the make-up and orientation of those middle classes in which, as early as 1791, Joseph Barnave had seen the fulcrum of power. During the nineteenth century, this vast and complex group (largely self-defined) was alternately seen as guardian of the established order against what François Guizot called the mad pretensions of levelers and anarchists or, again, as the ally, or potential ally, of the working class in the struggle for social revolution. It actually played both parts.

Yet the classic interpretation of recent French history as a long leftward trend appears to be based only on the latter—on a period of history in which the middle classes (to use the most general terms) were in favor of change, be it even revolutionary change. But the reforms they sought were political, not economic or social. We can see from the Belleville program of 1869, a relic to which Radicals still refer with awe, that social and particularly economic reforms were subordinated to the political and to the middle-class concern for property, security, and order. As long as the main issues, the chief bones of contention, were of a "political" nature—legal, organizational, constitutional—the concern for order and security did not prevent an important segment of the middle class from ranging itself on the Left. Even the prospect of a revolution did not frighten them away, partly because revolution had entered national tradition, partly because it remained more talk than reality, partly, too, because it could be expected to improve their position. But it had to be the right kind of revolution: February not June in 1848; the republican September 4, 1870, not the Social Revolutionary Commune of March 18, 1871. And it had to limit itself to political, not social, changes.

On these terms the middle-class groups usually continued to be in favor of change until the elections of 1877, the resignation of the royalist Maréchal MacMahon in 1879, and by Jules Grévy's succession in the presidency. After 1879, their major aims attained, the political gains that could still interest moderate-minded republicans were few; and even a good number of these had been achieved by 1884. Their continuance on the Left was due to the need, first real, then only apparent, to defend their gains. It was due also to the inevitable inertia of minds already made up within an established tradition. It was justified by making the most of a number of surviving issues. But these, in effect, were only two—free secular education and anticlericalism —neither of which could endanger property or the middle-class order. It was on this common platform, in which defense of republican institutions was a *sine qua non,* that the alliance of republicans and Radicals and Radicals and

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Socialists could be forged and maintained for some time. Talk of economic changes only served, as it has done ever since, to confuse the issue and shake the alliance. True, the Radicals brandished the slogan of an income tax, and their leaders, Léon Bourgeois, Joseph Caillaux, Camille Pelletan, all presented it as part of their program. As the fate of both Bourgeois and Caillaux would show, however, for both men stumbled and fell on this issue, there could be no Radical unity on such a measure even when they had adopted the suffix "Socialist." And many of those who might accept the tax took exception to the idea of a *déclaration controlée* that might make the tax a reality. Thus it was the republican system in particular, and republican educational and secularist policies, that tended to furnish the mortar of the fragile alliance that historians treat with so much respect.[4] But the *ralliement* of Catholic conservatives to the Republic early in the nineties marked a fairly general acceptance of the regime just about the time when the educational reforms of Jules Ferry had become part and parcel of its structure. Republic and school no longer served as subjects of dispute, and this placed a severe strain on the unity of a Left now running short of common issues—a strain that would soon be translated into new political alignments.

The first indication of a new kind of majority, based on a new community of interests, came in 1887 when Maurice Rouvier briefly led a coalition of conservatives and moderates held together by their opposition to a radicalism represented at the time by a warmongering General Boulanger. But in the eighties the conservatism of the Right was still weaker than its hatred of the Republic. Unable to resist the Boulangist adventure, the as yet unreconciled Rightists drove republican moderates back onto their left.

After Boulanger had been defeated and the Republic successfully defended, the elections of 1893, conducted in the shadow of the *ralliement,* seem to mark the collapse of the classic Right. But the reality is rather different. What happened, in effect, was that a part of the Right-wing electorate now felt free to vote for moderate republicans, while some of their erstwhile leaders, rallied to an established order, would henceforth pass as moderates themselves. This meant, therefore, not so much the defeat of the Right as a broadening of its scope. A similar trend also affected the Left. Once carried, the political and socioeconomic reforms of the eighties and nineties[5] became part of the established order and reconciled to it some, at least, of their bene-

[4] The fortunes of republican politics in the eighties could be used to show both the fragility of the alliance and its enduring power. Cf. Léon Gambetta's Belleville speech of August 12, 1881.

[5] This was particularly true of the laws on education (1881–1882), those regulating, democratizing, and decentralizing municipal affairs (1882–1884), the legalization of unions and strikes (1884), and the important social legislation of 1890–1892.

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ficiaries and advocates. Thus, while men of the Right moved toward a conservative center where they could be more effective, many erstwhile reformers who were satisfied with their success began to move in the same direction. This convergence appeared in 1896 in the support lent Jules Méline by a majority of Center and Right, united by their common economic interests and by opposition to the income tax proposals of a Radical cabinet led by Léon Bourgeois.

This alliance of Center and Right lasted through 1898. Actually, it did not dissolve until 1899 when Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau came forward to lead a classic Left-wing coalition in defense of republican justice (a usefully abstract cause), through the Dreyfus affair, and to the anticlerical reprisals that followed. While the *Bloc des gauches* formed at the turn of the century really lasted no longer than 1906, collaboration under Méline and during the Dreyfus affrays had forged a new Right, "republican at least in name, socially conservative, opposed to the anticlericalism and antimilitarism of the Left."[6] Meanwhile, the cohesion of the Left had come to appear increasingly dubious, and we know that the Socialists left the bloc after setting up the *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière*—French Section of the Workers' International—and pledging themselves to refuse cooperation with bourgeois parties or governments. It should be stressed, however, that, by the time this happened, the bloc's community of purpose had already been weakened by the anticlerical measures for which its members had voted together. Their success was a dissolvent as powerful as the Socialist resolutions generally held responsible for a break.

The point is that after 1905, after the separation of church and state, the last great dispute settled though hardly laid to rest, the only remaining issues were socioeconomic. In the summer of 1906 the Socialists stressed this by calling on their erstwhile allies to accept a far-ranging program of economic reform.[7] Naturally, their suggestions met the coldest possible reception. The moderate republicans who had put up with revolution when it had been political and the Radical middle class who would accept change provided it was legal and constitutional would have no part of reforms that might threaten their interests and, above all, their property.

Yet changes in apparent orientation are sometimes less easy to make

[6] François Goguel, *Géographie des elections françaises de 1870 à 1951* (Paris, 1951), 32. We might bear in mind one important aspect of the bloc's policies. See Joseph Paul-Boncour, *Entre deux guerres* (3 vols., Paris, 1945), II, 109–10: "Le ministère Combes, lui-même, avait été relativement ménagé par la Finance, qui s'accomodait assez bien de l'anticléricalisme; il détournait l'attention des réformes sociales."

[7] *Journal Officiel de la République française, Débats, Chambre,* June 21, 1906; Goguel, *Géographie des elections françaises,* 62.

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than changes in real orientation. The Radicals before the First World War still counted, and counted themselves, as a party of movement; and they might have been embarrassed by the difficulty of reconciling ethos and interest if at this juncture they had not found a bridge over which they could approach the party of order. This extremely important bridge was provided by the patriotic issues of the prewar years, in particular those following the Agadir crisis of 1911. The concern for social defense was thus complemented by the more meritorious claims of national defense. Léon Bourgeois (who first invented "Pas d'ennemis à gauche" in the nineties) now supported the moderate Poincaré against Jean Jaurès, the moderate Alexandre Ribot against the more progressive René Viviani. Maurice Rouvier's majority of 1887 re-formed around Poincaré, but now it included Radicals and Independent Socialists. They elected Poincaré President of the Republic, they prepared for war, and they did their best to eschew an income tax. The apparent Radical and Socialist majority returned by the elections of 1914 dissolved almost as soon as it got to Paris.

The wartime *union sacrée* consecrated this evolution, and in 1919 the *Chambre bleu horizon* marked not so much a victory of the Right as the further broadening of a Center that now included many Radicals and Independent Socialists. Of the forty-three cabinets that ruled the country between the victory of 1918 and the defeat of 1940, nineteen were pretty clearly of the Right, nine recognizably on the Left, and fourteen of the Center. Most of the last category, however, leaned away from, rather than toward, the Left.

Once again, verbiage contributed a confusing element as many moderates continued to mouth the old slogans of the Left.[8] This was particularly true of the anticlerical slogans and the issue of the *école laïque*. A study of their political use, whether in the twenties or the fifties, will show the relative indifference of Left-wing leaders[9] and the almost total indifference of a preoccupied electorate. Secularism and anticlericalism persisted as a subject of debate in the cafés and of concern among the militants of the classic Left. But in parliament, as in the country, the classic secularist argument would henceforth serve only as a pretext, as a cover for some other purpose or ma-

[8] "Nous n'étions pas validés depuis un mois . . . [que] Louis Marin . . . vint me dire à l'oreille: 'La Chambre est à droite, mais elle n'ose pas se montrer telle qu'elle est.'" Léon Daudet, *Député de Paris* (Paris, 1933), 138. On the other hand, the Radicals soon started to look out for their friends on the Right. Cf. the Declaration of the Radical Party Congress of 1923, quoted in Georges Bourgin and Jean Carrère, *Manuel des partis politiques en France* (Paris, 1924), 132.

[9] See the official Radical publication, *La politique républicaine* (Paris, 1924), and the account of the attempted Radical revival of an anticlerical policy in 1924–1927, and its failure, in Adrien Dansette, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine* (2 vols., Paris, 1951), II, 513–26. A further illustration is provided by the aspect under which these old controversies have recently flared up and been debated.

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neuver, whether of the Left or Right. It could provide a talking point, though one less and less electorally effective, as its gradual disappearance from the Barodet collections of electoral manifestoes shows. It could also provide an excuse. In 1912 Poincaré had rebuffed a conservative, Charles Benoist, who expressed his pleasure at the vast measure of agreement between them, by coldly (and conveniently) pointing out that they remained separated by the whole extent of the religious question. Between 1926 and 1928 this famous remark provided an excuse for Radical participation in Poincaré's cabinet.[10]

At any rate, by the twenties, few could doubt that the Radical Socialists belonged henceforth in the center. Radicals participated in practically every cabinet after 1924, and led sixteen of them, but their attitude was seldom less than moderate. The evolution of this *parti-charnière* reflected a change in the orientation of a section of the middle classes crucial in affecting the balance of political power.

It was not fully realized, however, that the Socialists had been undergoing the same evolution. This was largely because although they generally supported Radical ministers with their votes, freedom from power—exclusion from government—allowed the Socialists to retain their doctrinal intransigence. They had, however, kept it with a difference, for they conceived themselves to be a *parti de gouvernement,* and the attitude that this implied was explained by Léon Blum during his trial at Riom: "I represented a party," Blum told his accusers, "which for years had fought against war credits, except however when its votes were necessary for the credits to pass. . . ."[11] This was the party that acceded to power in June 1936.

After the victory of the Popular Front, a Socialist premier seemed a revolutionary novelty that went well with the revolutionary situation in which France imagined herself. In fact, however, Blum's government of June 1936 was pretty much the mixture as before—a coalition, though, this time of the Center-Left. Militants who had expected a sort of committee of public safety, a bold policy, a firm course of Socialist reform, were disappointed.[12]

[10] Of course the economic crisis had more to do with the formation and endurance of a "National Union" which dissolved so soon after the franc's stabilization. Even so, Radical collaboration with the Center and Right at this juncture stresses the essentially moderate character of their policies. This is where the traditional religious issue became useful. To solace their principles, they found Poincaré's sound position on the religious question "a consolation." Cf. Jacques Chastenet's superficial but knowledgeable *Raymond Poincaré* (Paris, 1948), 268.

[11] *Léon Blum devant la cour de Riom* (Paris, 1945). By the middle thirties, some Socialists had come to sound remarkably like Radicals, especially in the interest they showed for "little men" and small business and property, which had been long regarded as Radical preserves. See *Le Populaire,* July 19, 1936, and G.-E. Lavau, "Les classes moyennes et la politique" in Maurice Duverger *et al., Partis politiques et classes sociales* (Paris, 1955), 74–75.

[12] André Delmas, *À gauche de la barricade* (Paris, 1950), 85. See also the comments of a Rightist, J.-P. Maxence, *Histoire de dix ans* (Paris, 1939), 359, 364, who compares Blum and

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There was something equivocal about Blum's whole approach as there was about the character of his parliamentary coalition. The uneasy nature of the latter, in which Socialists and Communists held only 219 out of the Chamber's 598 seats, explains the feeling Blum expressed before the Socialist Party Congress that the elections had given him no mandate for a Socialist government, but only for a Left-wing one based on the Popular Front program.[13]

After Blum's fall in June 1937, the rightward drift that the Popular Front had briefly halted began anew, hesitant at first, but clear enough by the spring of 1938. Then it was that Édouard Daladier appeared as the strong man of the moment, the Jacobin *taureau de Vaucluse,* come to reunite and discipline the country at a dangerous hour, to build national preparedness in the face of foreign danger, but also to liquidate the danger from the Left. He endeared himself to the Right by crushing the general strike through which, in November 1938, the unions attempted to save some of the gains of 1936. Then, a few months later, following the German occupation of the Bohemian rump, he obtained almost dictatorial powers—the famous *pleins pouvoirs* of March 18, 1939, which furnished a precedent for the politicians at Vichy fifteen months later, and in Paris somewhat later still. At any rate, we can see that by 1939, in the wake of great and self-conscious parliamentary incoherence, the French political scene had reached a point not very different from that of 1958. The Right and Center were ready to hand over their powers to an *homme providentiel.* That they did not manage to do it until 1940 is incidental. After all, Gustave Hervé had been clamoring since 1934: "C'est Pétain qu'il nous faut!" As for the Left, it was divided and hence defeated.

The vote of full powers to Daladier in 1939 rehearsed the vote of fuller powers to Pétain in 1940. The apparent triumph of the Left in 1936 was still-

Gaston Doumergue, both men coming, one in 1934 and the other in 1936, to bury a revolution, not to praise it.

[13] Socialists and Communists, with 35.3 per cent of the votes cast, held 219 seats; their opponents of the National Front, with 42.4 per cent of the vote, held 215 seats; the balance of power, as nearly always, lay in the hands of the 109 Radical and Radical Socialist deputies. This was particularly true since this latter group dominated the Senate through the majoritarian *gauche démocratique.* Cf. Jérome Carcopino's remarks to Galeazzo Ciano in July 1937 in *Souvenirs de sept ans* (Paris, 1953), 31. I do not share Thomson's optimistic estimate of the Front's achievements (*Democracy in France,* 198–200). Its reforms did not even go as far as the mandate to which Blum referred. The concrete gains of the Front's victory may be counted on the fingers of one hand. There was the great spurt in unionization and the conclusion of collective contracts (not new in itself but quantitatively a great advance); there were the salary increases, the holidays with pay, the forty-hour week, and the raising of the age for compulsory education to fourteen. But as Daladier would tell his judges at Riom, the nationalization of railways and war industries was "more of a farce." Major steps in themselves, such reforms cannot be called revolutionary; and the most important among them were soon abandoned, in whole or part, by Radical premiers.

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born like its predecessor in 1902–1906, like its successor in 1944–1946. They all failed, fundamentally (and obviously), because they were unable to live up to the slogan of Léon Bourgeois, because, instead of looking to the Left for support, Radicals in 1906, Radicals and Socialists in the thirties, Socialists and popular republicans ten years later, could not look to their left without alarm. They glimpsed there something like Banquo's ghost. In the years before World War I this meant the dissolution of the *Bloc des gauches* and a growing shift to the center of Radicals who were more repelled by the Socialist clamor than by the nationalistic and clerical associations of the Right. In the years before the Second World War it meant the disintegration of the Popular Front, with the Socialist party behaving much as the Radical had done thirty years before. It meant the virtual exile of the Communist party, its eventual outlawing, and the definitive splitting of the Left.[14] Ten years later, similar divisions broke the postliberation coalition and initiated the shift of an already moderate *SFIO* and a schizophrenic *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* toward the center.

This time the process is clearer, more obvious. The votes of 1946 mark the beginning of an electoral trend in favor of the Right that is there for all to see. By 1951 many perceived it. True, the majority of the Right still often felt obliged to use the jargon of the Left, but the ensuing verbal confusion did not hamper the Right's advance, which was evidenced by the Pinay cabinet of 1952 and the Coty election to the presidency in 1954. By Christmas 1954 a Right-wing leader, Roger Duchet, could boast without fear of contradiction that the independents constituted the most powerful parliamentary group.[15] Their advance was translated into electoral terms on January 2, 1956, when the number of votes they received was 42 per cent higher than in 1951. Though the presence of Poujadists on their right made the results disappointing, conservative policies would dominate the last legislature of the Fourth Republic.

From all this it would seem that the situation has changed but little in the last sixty or seventy years. There is still an intransigent, or seemingly intransigent, extreme Left that preaches economic change and social revolution. There is still a Left, so-called, which success has watered down to moderation and whose activities must be termed "counter-revolutionary" ac-

[14] It had not been split in 1914 and, just before the war, Jaurès and Caillaux had discussed a new coalition. One cannot easily imagine such talks between Maurice Thorez and Blum in 1939. Of course, I am not here concerned with apportioning blame for the new development. In fact, the notion of blame does not even arise. Nor am I concerned with Communist policy.

[15] "Bilan d'un congrès," *France-indépendante,* Dec. 21, 1954. I have discussed the postwar revival of the Right in "Poujade and the Sickness of France," *Dissent,* IV (No. 2, 1957), and "La Fièvre de la Raison: Nationalism and the French Right," *World Politics,* X (No. 4, 1958).

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cording to Thomson's definition. There is still a majority of the Right, determined to maintain or recover its advantages, its property, its social position, if need be by violent means. The thing to note is that the Algiers revolution of May 13, 1958, was not the work of Fascists, though Fascists participated in it. It was a violently defensive movement whose leaders and supporters had two not unconnected aims: to defend their property and to restore order in the state. These men were mainly middle-class property owners, far more serious about their business than the bright young Camelots of yore, more numerous and determined than any Fascist *ligueurs*. They were the same men who had reacted violently when scared in 1848, in 1871, and to some extent in 1933 and 1934—the real conservatives, ready to go to any extreme to preserve the middle way.

The suggestion has been made that France knows only two kinds of republican: Orléanist republicans and Bonapartist republicans. But these are one and the same, the Bonapartist being no more than an Orléanist scared enough to throw some ballast overboard. The ballast are the myths and slogans of normal times, useful in their place, acceptable even when time-worn and out of date, but sometimes discarded. Now, how can an electorate of this sort be reconciled to the changes that would be implied by a true policy of no enemies on the Left? Certainly it will take myth for reality, but it will buck and rear at the first threat of the myth's becoming actuality. Hence the jokes about hearts on left and pocketbooks on right; hence the popularity of Left-wing labels provided the practice of their bearers is of the Right; hence, also, the persistent interpretation of French history as a trend to the left, confused, of course, by the vague and continually more mixed meanings attached to labels like "Left" and "Right," but confused even more by the growing gap between political language and political reality. This is a gap that politicians and journalists have come to perceive, but which too many historians still persist in ignoring.

Yet ignoring it (or, rather, its implications) has dangers greater than mere scholarly misinterpretation. For the development we can follow in France, though less apparent and less readily acknowledged than elsewhere, is part of a vaster and more familiar Western European trend which might be described as the progressive integration, the progressive reconciliation, of the "outs." The nineteenth century saw the progress of the middle classes from a position of violent objection to the established order to one of acceptance and increasingly violent defense. The twentieth century, in turn, has brought great advances in what I shall call the "embourgeoisation" of the proletariat, giving the new recruits to middle-class living an interest in

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the established order that they had previously resented or attacked and strengthening the "counter-revolutionary" current.[16]

Toward the end of the nineteenth century France witnessed the beginnings of two interconnected revolutions—one in the means of production and power, which rose with a speed and to a level unknown in previous years; the other in the numerical relations of the different social classes, and their political allegiance. The first makes possible the second, but it is the latter that concerns us here. Marx's predictions of the socioeconomic developments to be expected in the West had been based on the belief that the proportion of exploited to exploiters, of oppressed to oppressors, would continue to grow until economic collapse or political explosion violently reversed the trend and brought power into the hands of the former "outs." Reformist thought in England, France, and Germany during the last years of the century had not attempted to think through or change the basic assumptions of this theory, only its tactical implications. Even Lenin, when addressing himself to the theories of Bernstein, did not suggest that the numbers of the oppressed could ever fail to bring them the democratic advantage once the means of oppression and obfuscation had been removed. Given truly free conditions the classic Left could not fail to win. Numbers and, hence, democratic justice, were on its side.

Yet, even as Lenin wrote in obscurity, even as the Second International wrangled over Bernstein's theses, and Jules Guesde contended with Jaurès over the permissibility of cooperation between Socialist and bourgeois parties, a new social development was making nonsense of these preoccupations. A new class was rising which, for want of a better term, has been called the lower middle class. It consisted in those of the erstwhile "outs" who had managed to claw their way up and out of the lower classes; and those of the former "ins" whom economic contingencies had cast down to this level whence they conducted a desperate struggle to avoid the disgrace of further decay. The new class was urban, it was hungry, and it was, for a variety of reasons, dissatisfied. To such men the doctrines of the existing Right or Left held no meaning, the political parties established within existing categories

[16] Thus, in 1952, the French Institute of Public Opinion believed that the working class accounted for some 19 per cent of the adult population. Of these, less than half cast their votes for the Communist party (47.8 per cent in 1951) and more voted for Gaullist *Ralliement du Peuple Français* candidates than for Socialists. What may be more significant still is that among the working-class adherents of the Communist party more (48 per cent as against 44 per cent) believed in reform than in revolution as a means of achieving their ends. See *Sondages*, 14e année (No. 3, 1952). Nathalie Rogoff, "Social Stratification in France and the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (No. 4, 1953), provides some data that has been variously interpreted. I am struck by the fact that, when asked to what class they belonged, artisans and skilled workers answered "bourgeois," 5 per cent, "middle," 36.4 per cent, "working class," 52.9 per cent—a significantly low figure.

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offered no avenue toward their aims. The class consciousness of the Left was far from the minds of people either escaped from the proletariat or dreading it. The conservative satisfaction with existing social hierarchies and economic opportunities had no meaning for those to whom the *status quo* as such held no appeal.

Since existing doctrines were of no use to them, these people became antidoctrinaire; since existing parties failed to cater to them, they turned against all parties. Seeking help and support, they were soon made aware of the slight relation between their interests and the issues of current parliamentary politics. They became antiparliamentary "activists," sympathetic to the critics of parliamentary sloth and confusion in circumstances when action was called for. Inclined, as we all are, to identify their interests and those of the whole, they were readily convinced that the nation needed not parliaments, parties, or doctrines, but a unifying creed above the confusion and corruption of faction. It needed a leader who, in this spirit, would actually do something, not just talk. They became, in other words, nationalists.

Around the army, which furnished a constant symbol of national unity and, in theory at least, of effective and disciplined power; around the "providential man," who furnished leadership in person or inspiration in myth, the nationalist movements grew and found their afflatus. Not apace: the nationalist explosions of the eighties and the nineties were brief, and were more noisy than significant. This can be explained in retrospect by the thinness of their troops, which only grew to respectable numbers after 1920, and also by the lack of sufficient allies among the more numerous property-owning middle classes, still at that time satisfied with the existing state of things. It is only when the middle classes, out of fear for their property or for the existing order, choose to join them that the nationalists really ride high—as they did in 1912–1914, in the thirties, or in 1958. Nevertheless, the section they represent grows with the years. It grows as more workers rise out of their class, as more peasants leave the land for the cities, as the number of *rentiers* and marginal shopkeepers shrinks, as the petty bourgeoisie is squeezed harder between big business and the state, as the number of socially displaced persons increases whether for economic or ideological reasons, from the *déracinés* of Maurice Barrès to their angry young descendants in the pages (and the lives) of a Pierre Drieu la Rochelle after World War I or a Gustave Thibon after World War II, from the disoriented students and shopkeepers who followed a Maurice Pujo or an Xavier Vallat in the first third of the century to those who cheered a Jean LePen or Pierre Poujade in the last few years. The nationalist intellectual rebels against the dull and egotis-

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tical selfishness of his society and government. The nationalist militant wants a change. And when change appears the order of the day, nationalism provides the slogans, if not the answers. A strong influence in the years just before the last two wars, it waxes dominant in times when political impotence and incoherence become so apparent as to endanger the social order, as in 1934 or 1958.

As I said before, nationalism cannot triumph unless it is accepted and taken up by the conservatives—by those members of the middle classes who are normally satisfied with the established order. But this should be considered in practical perspective. Since 1789 neither Right nor Left have advanced or triumphed without confederates. For a long time, while issues were chiefly political, the protagonists of the Left were bourgeois liberals and the allies sought by either side were chiefly to be found in the *petit peuple*. As the century ended, however, the Left passed into Marxist hands and the balance of power came to rest with the middle-class liberals who were then pushed into the center. The establishment of these latter upon generally conservative positions and the misunderstandings and complications this involved have provided the chief avatars of French politics in our time. Between them and the Left, as we have seen, a new group has been growing all this time—and "growing" is the operative word, for by the late forties it had come to constitute a "third force" and by 1959 its representatives formed the largest party in the Assembly of the new Republic it had helped to found. These nationalists, who represent the dissatisfied, the ambitious, and the disinherited, have a doctrine. The conservatives have none; most of the time accepting the *status quo* and busy making the most of it, they feel no need for one. Only when the *status quo* begins to crack and crumble so dangerously that the usual patches grow useless and they realize something must be done, do the conservatives begin to cast around for a doctrine. Then, like hermit crabs, they often try to fit into someone else's. Throughout the thirties many still accepted that of the classic, republican, Left. That today they should adopt that of the nationalists is not without significance—both for the needs of France and for her hopes.

When it comes to a concrete program of action, the new class tends toward eclecticism. National honor and unity provide the slogans, local and immediate needs suggest the reforms. This means that the concrete planks of an acceptable platform will vary, not only regionally or as between country and town, but from one constituency to another. They do not even completely agree on the technocratic and managerial tendency of the day and they vary between the suspicious and obstinate nineteenth-century individu-

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alism that brought so much grist to Poujade's mill and readiness to trust planners rather than politicians, leaving everything to the "cadres." Opposition to Communism, victory (not compromise settlement) in Algeria, lower taxes, higher incomes, greater prestige for France, and a new vicinal road may sum up the wishes of most, but not all. It is just this diversity of interests that produces programs that accentuate the negative—or, at least, the acceptable generalization rather than more specific, hence controversial and divisive, issues.

All this means that henceforth the doctrines and parties of change no longer resemble those of an earlier age. For one thing, proletarian class consciousness or, in broader terms, the interests of the "outs" no longer have the privilege of numbers. For another, universal suffrage, even in a self-conscious, class-conscious electorate, does not necessarily operate in favor of the party of movement. While the myths of the classic Left survive, its programs no longer appeal to the new majorities. Hence, the new tone of French politics is not only a consequence of political skulduggery behind the scenes, but a fairly faithful reflection of the new democracy in which the social and economic changes of our times have created a powerful vested interest in the established order. What had begun as self-delusion and continued as misrepresentation grew to be the increasingly accurate reflection of an electorate in which economic and demographic changes have shifted the balance of interests and power. There is no reason to believe that further changes should operate in favor of the classic Left. The fact is that the old labels of Left and Right are out of date, *dépassés,* that neither the party of movement nor that of established order can fit into them, and that we need to reconsider our categories, just as we need to reconsider our current interpretation of recent French history.

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What Wilson Sent and What House Received: Or Scholars Need to Check Carefully

W. Stull Holt*

PROFESSOR Charles Seymour in *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House,* published in 1928, quoted a cable of October 29, 1918, sent by Woodrow Wilson to Colonel House in Paris as follows:

My deliberate judgment is that our whole weight should be thrown for an armistice which will not permit a renewal of hostilities by Germany, but which will be as moderate and reasonable as possible within that condition, because lately I am certain that too much severity on the part of the Allies will make a genuine peace settlement exceedingly difficult if not impossible. . . . Foresight is better than immediate advantage.[1]

In 1939, when Ray Stannard Baker published the eighth volume of *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters,* he wrote that on October 28, Wilson cabled House as follows:

My deliberate judgment is that our whole weight should be thrown for an armistice which will prevent a renewal of hostilities by Germany but which will be as moderate and reasonable as possible within those limits, because it is certain that too much success or security on the part of the Allies will make a genuine peace settlement exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. The position of Haig and Milner and Petain as reported by our commander-in-chief is therefore safer than Foch's. See Baker's dispatch of today to commander-in-chief. Foresight is wiser than immediate advantage.[2]

The explanation to account for the discrepancies in language is not dif-

* Mr. Holt, professor of American history at the University of Washington, is the author of *Treaties Defeated by the Senate: A Study of the Struggle between President and Senate over the Conduct of Foreign Relations* (Baltimore, Md., 1933).

[1] *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House,* ed. Charles Seymour (4 vols., Boston, 1926–28), IV, 110. Mr. Robert Middlekauff of the Yale University history department checked the original in the House Papers against the version printed by Seymour and says the printed version is correct except that in the final sentence the words should be, "Foresight is wiser" instead of "is better." The three dots before "Foresight" in the quotation printed by Seymour are substituted for two sentences that are so badly garbled in the manuscript as to be practically meaningless. Probably that is the reason Seymour omitted them. The exact wording was also published by Seymour in 1934 in his *American Diplomacy during the World War* (Baltimore, Md., 1934), 332.

[2] Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* (8 vols., Garden City, N. Y., 1927–39), VIII, 523. My colleague Robert Burke requested Mr. Joseph Vance of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress to check the printed version given by Baker with the original manuscript in the Woodrow Wilson Papers. I am informed that the printed version reads exactly like the original.

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ficult. Seymour cites as his source the House manuscripts deposited at Yale University. His version of the cable is that which Colonel House received in Paris. Baker, using Wilson's manuscripts, states that his version of the cable was taken from a text written on the President's own typewriter. Baker did not note that there was any difference between the wording of the cable Wilson sent and the previously published wording of the message House received. No one among the scholars who have quoted the cable has apparently been aware of the conflicting language.

The cable was sent in code as Baker reports and as might be expected. According to a common practice when code is used, words are often transposed or slightly different words are used in order to protect the security of the code. In this instance it is not known whether the changes were made deliberately when encoding in America or decoding in Europe or whether they resulted from carelessness.[3] Most of the minor variations are of no consequence: "which will prevent" is the same as "which will not permit"; "within those limits" is equivalent to "within that condition"; "because it is certain" means approximately the same as "because lately I am certain"; and "Foresight is wiser than" equals "Foresight is better than."

The other change is, however, really important. The meaning of Wilson's words "too much success or security on the part of the Allies" is significantly different from the meaning of the message House received saying "too much severity on the part of the Allies." The latter thought is on the character of the terms to be imposed on the Germans. It does not contain some of the elements in the mind of Wilson. His thinking was focused on the Allies, on their security and his desire for some insecurity so that they could be coerced by an American threat of a separate peace.

The words "too much severity" could support an interpretation of Wilson as a Lincolnian character who wished to make peace with malice toward none and with charity for all. The words "too much success or security" support the view that Wilson was not the naïve innocent which he came to be regarded but was a hard-boiled practitioner of balance-of-power politics.[4] The pictures are quite different.

Both versions of the message are, of course, correct depending on the

[3] Mistakes were likely because of the press of business relative to the size of the clerical force. House wrote in his diary of October 30, "This morning around three o'clock, I was awakened by the motor-cycles of our messengers leaving the house with dispatches for Washington which had just been put into code. Every night since we have been here the staff has been up until three or four o'clock in the morning. The dispatches for Washington cannot be prepared and written until the evening, and the coding takes practically all night. It is necessary to get these dispatches into Washington by the early morning and the staff works at top speed during the night." *Intimate Papers,* ed. Seymour, IV, 168–69.

[4] See, for example, the way Leopold Schwarzschild uses it in *World in Trance: From Versailles to Pearl Harbor,* tr. Norbert Guterman (London, 1943), 13 ff.

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purpose for which they are to be used. If the scholar is primarily concerned with House and his negotiations with the Allies in Paris, the words he actually received are what matter. If the scholar is trying to state the policy of the United States as formulated by Wilson or to understand his mind and character, the message he composed is what counts.

Inevitably one wonders if there were other changes in thought resulting from the coding of messages between the two men and if they might have contributed to the misunderstanding that developed. At least it is clear that scholars should add alterations through coding to the long list of pitfalls they must avoid.

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* * * * Reviews of Books * * * *

General

THE AGE OF THE WORLD: MOSES TO DARWIN. By *Francis C. Haber.* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 303. $5.00.)

As a history of notions about the age and method of formation of the earth, this book can be thoroughly recommended. It is not in the least technical. Any historian who wishes to find out what various well-known figures were thinking about such problems in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can do so here.

But the author has, regrettably, fallen into several common traps and is in danger of being criticized for what he has not done, instead of being praised for what he has. He gave his book a catchy title, as if it were a popular presentation of geology; the opening pages show it is not. He intended "to shed some light on 'historicism'" by considering men's changing attitudes toward time: this he does not satisfactorily do, though the first chapter is a confusing account of philosophical and religious attitudes toward time displayed at various periods, and the second chapter is entitled "Historicism and the Scientific Revolution." Both chapters show what a fatal mistake it is to convert a doctoral dissertation into a book without sacrificing those parts that are a record of the author's education. The second chapter suffers from insufficient understanding of the nature and content of the seventeenth-century scientific revolution. Dr. Haber believes that a change in men's thinking about space was effected without a corresponding change in thinking about time; he has clearly not understood Newton's profound speculations concerning the nature of time in the *Principia,* nor has he appreciated the fact that Archbishop Ussher's Biblical chronology (no less than Newton's) reflected not complaisance with established concepts, but a desire to modernize them.

This book is not, in fact, primarily about historicism. The last three chapters (parts of which were published in *Forerunners of Darwin, 1745–1859*) are a straightforward account of the history of geological ideas about the age of the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Haber has read widely and variously, as his footnotes show (there is, unfortunately, no bibliography). He presents a full picture of what scientists and nonscientists were writing (he distinguishes poorly between the two); this is about as good a history of the problem as one can find. The writing is by no means as lively as that found in Andrew D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* (an amazingly enduring account), but it is not dull, like so many histories of geology, and it is far more complete than White. There are many interesting side lights on intel-

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lectual history. It is not surprising that many otherwise daring minds judged bold speculations to be fantasy; truer theories of the origin of the earth required what were, at the time, impossibly long time spans, but this should not make us regard every catastrophist as enlightened, and his opponents as obscurantist. It is difficult to preserve a sense of proportion in the history of science, for the historian knows the answers, but this makes it the more necessary to do so.

University of California, Los Angeles MARIE BOAS HALL

DRIVMAKTER I HISTORIA. By *Halvdan Koht.* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. 1959. Pp. 210.)

THIS modest volume does not quite fit any of the familiar categories of historical writing. It can be classified neither as historiography, as usually considered, nor as philosophy of history (the author expressly dissociates himself from this field), though elements of both are included in it. It deals more with problems of historical causation. The dynamic forces in history, as Koht sees them, are surveyed in chapters on political forces, economic drives, religious concerns, innate social impulses, cross-cultural influences, drives producing class distinctions, ideals tending toward internationalism, bellicose impulses and the collateral consequences of war, and developments stemming from science and technology. This analysis can well serve the purposes of the apprentice who is just entering upon his specialized studies in history.

The author's approach throughout is suggestive, with no pretense at being exhaustive. In no way dogmatic or determinist, it is essentially pluralistic. The style is simple and clarifying (composed in Koht's favorite *landsmaal* medium). Occasionally, but not often, its succinctness can leave the reader with sharper contrasts than perhaps the author intended—one thinks twice about the passage implying that peoples of southern Latin countries appropriated Christianity much more slowly than did the northern peoples.

Much of the material supporting the author's general argument has a strong personal quality. Here many paragraphs serve also as introductions to this or that specialized study by the author. In the aggregate, these passages provide something of an apologia, or perhaps better, a rationale, for Koht's career as historian. As many will know, the sweep of his scholarship, spanning well over half a century, has been very wide. This would be evident if there were assembled a bibliography to include the range of material scattered about in press and periodical media; the list of twenty-two works here placed opposite the title page is not adequate for the purpose.

As Koht surveys the forces at work in history, he is impressed by their diversity, a diversity he sees as expanding, yet simultaneously establishing a basic global oneness. In their diversity he finds the basis for a personal philosophy (or at least for a

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sustaining hope). The problem as to whether these forces, in their increasing diversity, can attain to a global pattern whose political framework and social cartilage will take on sufficient firmness and strength in time to contain adequately the necessary processes of adjustment and assimilation is a larger question with which the author is not here engaged. But his discourse, by implication, does suggest an answer in the affirmative. In this book, one of the distinguished scholars of our generation has given us, through an account almost disarmingly simple, a "long view" of the human story.

New York University OSCAR J. FALNES

THE STRUCTURE OF NATIONS AND EMPIRES: A STUDY OF THE RECURRING PATTERNS AND PROBLEMS OF THE POLITICAL ORDER IN RELATION TO THE UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. By *Reinhold Niebuhr.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. c. 1959. Pp. xi, 306. $5.00.)

PROFESSOR Reinhold Niebuhr is not only a theologian. As a profound student of the nature and destiny of man he has been led to the study of history and political science. He has confronted Christian realism with the political problems of his generation, a generation that has lived through two world wars, through great revolutions, and through the emergence of the United States as a world power. With the true sense of a historian Niebuhr has tried to teach the American people, who face the seemingly novel perplexities of the nuclear age and of their encounter with Communism, not to forget the lessons of the past.

His new book is a study of the recurring patterns and problems of the political order in relation to our times. The problems of each age, not only of the nuclear age, are unique, and yet, in view of the nature of man, conform to certain historical patterns. It is equally dangerous to overestimate or to underestimate the new elements in every historical situation. Niebuhr tries to avoid this danger. He refuses to discern patterns of recurrences. He knows about the unexpected and unpredictable. He starts with an analysis of the two imperial nations of today. From there, however, he turns, in order to gain historical perspective, to the examination of former great empires and to the lessons that can be learned from them, to return at the end of the book to our present situation, the "cold war."

In his prognosis he is more realistic than many observers of the contemporary scene. "The twin forces of freedom in Western history were property and conscience. There seems no room in the communist system for either of these forces." The most we can hope for is a mitigation of the fury of Communist fanaticism and of the rigor of its despotism.

At the end of his book Niebuhr sums up his view of man in history. Man must come to terms with the inconclusive character of human history, and yet

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be prepared to assume a responsible attitude toward the values of culture even though he realizes their fragmentary nature. There is no simple moral way of removing the ambiguity of power in the community. "Historic responsibilities must be borne without the certainty that meeting them will lead to any ultimate solution of the problem, but with only the certainty that there are immediate injustices which may be eliminated." In his concluding words the historian again turns theologian. He warns the nations, especially the United States, against making claims of virtue, wisdom, and power that are beyond the competence of men. "Our best hope . . . rests upon our ability to observe the limits of human freedom even while we responsibly exploit its creative possibilities. . . . It is not sloth or the failure to exploit our potentialities but undue self-assurance which tempts the strong, particularly those who are young and strong." Niebuhr's book is a successful attempt to fuse an interpretation of ethics, primarily Christian ethics, in the context of history with an interpretation of history in the context of ethics and of a religious view of man.

City College of New York HANS KOHN

VATICAN DIPLOMACY: A STUDY OF CHURCH AND STATE ON THE INTERNATIONAL PLANE. By *Robert A. Graham, S.J.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 442. $7.50.)

THIS book is a clear, interesting, and fair-minded account of the diplomatic arrangements by which the Holy See maintains relations with secular governments. Father Graham begins with an account of the origin and development of Vatican diplomacy. He then turns to a theoretical examination of papal sovereignty and a discussion of "test cases," especially that of the relations between the Holy See and the USSR. The final chapter contains some general conclusions, and the book ends with an excellent bibliography.

Graham is concerned with the machinery of papal diplomacy rather than with the policies that the popes have attempted to carry out. He argues well and brings out a good many important considerations that non-Catholics are apt to overlook. Thus he shows the reasons for the change from the "regalism" of the eighteenth century, when Catholic sovereigns emphasized the diplomatic status of the nuncios in order to minimize their power of interference with princely control of ecclesiastical affairs. In the nineteenth century "regalism" nearly everywhere disappeared. The secular princes had come to accept the "direct action" of the Holy See in purely ecclesiastical matters affecting the Catholic Church within their dominions; the pope was no longer treated as a "foreign ruler." On the other hand the opponents of the papacy now tried to lower its international standing by minimizing the diplomatic character of the pope's representatives.

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The author discusses the *raison d'être* of the temporal power from a Catholic standpoint, and, in this connection, the Law of Guarantees and the Lateran Treaty nearly sixty years later. This discussion, though careful and honest, suffers because it is too theoretical; whatever the practical necessity of the temporal power may once have been, the question whether it served the spiritual ends of the Church in the nineteenth century cannot be separated from an examination of the political facts. It might be said that an obsession with the importance of territorial sovereignty—even of a token kind—as the first condition of spiritual independence has been harmful to the Church, that such an obsession led the papacy, especially after 1830, into an unfortunate misunderstanding of and conflict with political liberalism and a dangerous alliance with reactionary forces which misused the Church for their own ends, and that the echoes of this conflict reverberate disastrously even today.

Graham's test cases are aptly chosen. He has sensible things to say about the relations between the Holy See and the United States. He describes the efforts of the popes to mitigate the persecution of Catholics and to secure the essential conditions of existence for the Catholic Church under a totalitarian Communist regime, a task that has become even more complicated since the extension of Russian control over countries with a population largely Catholic. Graham is too prudent to commit himself to detailed forecasts, but he points out that a time may come when papal diplomacy in its present form (and, by implication, the existence of a "token" Vatican state) may cease to be a feature of the relations between the Church and secular states. The position of the Holy See is already less strange than it was when all sovereignty rested on a territorial basis. Nonetheless, even with the admission of other nonterritorial organizations to "the once exclusive company of international persons," the problem set by the divided allegiance of Christians—all Christians, whatever their denomination—will continue to exist and to impose upon the modern state, in Graham's words, "many moments of difficult decision."

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey LLEWELLYN WOODWARD

A SURVEY OF NORTH WEST AFRICA (THE MAGHRIB). Edited by *Nevill Barbour*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 406. $5.60.)

THE ignorance that forced geographers in the eighteenth century to sketch elephants on their empty maps of Africa has had its counterpart in the ignorance of historians confronted with long spans of time lacking evidence of any eventful history. In recent years this ignorance about Africa is being dispelled and the darkness of mind that called Africa the Dark Continent is being dissipated

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in the information now flooding the world about the last continent to be explored and exploited by Europeans.

The student of Africa must add this excellent and informative work to the growing list of good books on that part of the world. It is a veritable encyclopedia, its pages packed with detailed material on that part lying between the borders of modern Egypt and the Atlantic and extending far into the Sahara from the shores of the Mediterranean. The book is concerned not only with Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, all of which are dealt with at great length, but it also includes a good deal of useful information on Tangier, Ceuta, Melilla, Ifni, Spanish Sahara (Río de Oro), Tarfaya, Mauritania, and the island presidios of Spain lying in the Mediterranean off the Moroccan coast. Many scholars have assisted the editor in the task of making available to the student of African affairs this overwhelming mass of material, so compressed as to make the reader feel that each page carries twice the amount of data borne by pages in the average book.

Here one has the area's history from earliest times—about Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, Normans, Turks—to the middle of the twentieth century. The last few years are treated in considerable detail. Because change presses so hard on history and will not permit an author to end his story, an addendum is attached with a sketch of the main events of 1958 in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. Even the preface has to carry part of the story because of developments taking place while the rest of the book was being prepared for publication.

In addition to history one gets considerable information on races, languages, religions, geography, climate, resources, domestic and foreign trade, education, health, government, administration, social and economic problems, with tabulated statistics thrown in for good measure. It should be added that the book shows a good deal of sympathy with the cause of the natives in North Africa. It is indispensable to those who need a background for the events since 1958.

Yale University HARRY R. RUDIN

BRITISH INVESTMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA, 1822–1949: A CASE STUDY IN THE OPERATIONS OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN RETARDED REGIONS. By *J. Fred Rippy*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 249. $5.00.)

OVER the past fifteen years Mr. Rippy has published articles on foreign investment, especially British investment and enterprise, in Latin America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a commonplace that historians write about a problem when its full, or nearly full, development is evident, when both its rise and fall can be seen in perspective, and Rippy's interest and publications dealing with British investment in Latin America are no more an exception to

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this rule than was Leland Jenks's pioneer study of the movement of British capital overseas (1927). British capital flowed to Latin America in the 1820's when the young republics reorganized their war-wracked finances to meet the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of government, and for the next century and more British capital played an essential role in the economic growth and modernization of the area. As the rate of modernization accelerated after the First World War, sectors of Latin American opinion subjected British as well as United States investment capital to ever-mounting criticism, which reached a crescendo in the years after the Great Depression and still retained vote-catching magnetism after the Second World War, when British investment diminished and United States participation increased.

With some notable exceptions, the great debate over foreign investment in Latin America has generated more heat than light and has created what is commonly termed an "unfavorable climate for foreign investment." This "suggestive introduction," as Rippy modestly characterizes his study, has thus a major and a minor theme: first, the quantification, direction, periodization, and rate of return on British investment from its inception to its decline after 1929 and, second, the relevance of British experience to Latin American economic nationalism. Based upon rigorous use of the *Mining Journal, Stock Exchange Yearbook, Annual Reports* of the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders, and other publications, fully two-thirds of this volume (Parts I and II) focus on the first theme. Treated in turn are the investment boom and bust of the 1820's when Latin American government securities first attracted British investors, the resumption of capital flow first between 1880 and 1890 largely into railroads and public utilities, land, and mining properties, and again after 1900, so that by the outbreak of the First World War fully 74 per cent of all British investment in Latin America was concentrated in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico; the situation in 1928 (£1,200,000,000) when investments were at their height, and the subsequent halving of British holdings, 1939–1949. In 1928, roughly a century after the initial experiments in Latin America, British holdings in railroad enterprises overshadowed those in government securities. This over-all view is complemented by a narrower, nation-by-nation analysis of British investments in which the enterprises of certain businessmen—Weetman Pearson in Mexico and John North in Chile—are high-lighted. For clarification of these sections, twenty-nine tables accompany the text, covering nominal capital, its distribution, and nominal average yield at scattered intervals. Within the self-imposed restrictions of this survey, Rippy has provided a useful study. There is, however, one serious defect: the absence of one over-all table indicating the magnitude and distribution by fields of enterprise of investment at given periods. The reader is left with the problem of integrating the material.

It is in the concluding section ("The Crux of the Matter in a Global Setting") that certain deficiencies appear. The clear focus, methodology, and organization

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of earlier sections disappear when the author poses questions unanswerable by data presented. In two tables, for example, the profitability of selected British enterprises in Latin America is compared with that of companies in the Orient and Africa; the latter turn out to be far more profitable. Yet even a superficial analysis reveals that of the Latin American enterprises listed, sixteen were founded before 1900 and seven after that date, while the proportion for the Oriental and African enterprises is precisely the reverse. Obviously, varying periods make such comparison dubious. In his introduction Rippy claims that Latin American returns to British investors were meager, thereby raising doubts about the factual basis of Latin American criticism. He has, however, excluded from his investigation both the management and labor policy of British companies, crucial factors in assessing the elements of the Latin American "image" of British investment. Few will deny the general Latin American suspicion of United States private investment at the middle of the twentieth century. But Rippy's data do not establish clearly that such suspicion is a heritage of British investment rather than the result of United States' faults of omission or commission.

Princeton University STANLEY J. STEIN

CRITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE: PROCEEDINGS OF THE INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, SEPTEMBER 1–11, 1957. Edited by *Marshall Clagett*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 555. $5.00.)

IN September 1957 an Institute for the History of Science met at the University of Wisconsin for a ten-day period with Professor Marshall Clagett as director. Some seventy-two persons with professional interest in the field were present. This book includes the papers presented at that meeting. The list of those who gave papers and those who were commentators is impressive. Here in one volume, then, the historical profession can see what activity and advances are taking place in a field that often in the past was regarded in American circles at least as a stepchild of history or of science. Surely this publication is testimony to the fact that the discipline has not only come of age but also has gained acceptance as a field in its own right in college and university curricula.

It is difficult to discuss and analyze sixteen papers and their commentaries, particularly since the subjects range over such a broad field. For those concerned with the history of science before the seventeenth century there is not too much here. But the program planned for the meetings should impress any person with a professional, or, for that matter, a nonprofessional, interest in the field. And it is indeed a very helpful thing to have the commentaries on each paper published with the paper. It sharpens the reader's interest, and in that sense adds to the value of each paper.

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What types of subjects were dealt with during the sessions? If one is interested in medieval science there is an excellent paper on "The Significance of Medieval Discussions of Scientific Method for the Scientific Revolution" by A. C. Crombie. Or if interest centers on the French Revolution there are two papers: "The *Encyclopédie* and the Jacobin Philosophy of Science" by Charles Gillispie and "The Politics of Science in the French Revolution" by L. Pearce Williams. If one is concerned with the problem of how he can introduce a course in the history of science into the college curriculum there are two papers by experienced persons in this field: Dorothy Stimson's "The Place of the History of Science in a Liberal Arts Curriculum" and Henry Guerlac's "History of Science for Engineering Students at Cornell." Or if one's interest is in art there is Giorgio de Santillana's "The Role of Art in the Scientific Renaissance." I. Bernard Cohen's "Conservation and the Concept of Electric Charge: An Aspect of Philosophy in Relation to Physics in the Nineteenth Century" and Thomas S. Kuhn's "Energy Conservation as an Example of Simultaneous Discovery" present ideas of interest in physics. There are papers in biology and chemistry by J. Walter Wilson, Marie Boas, and John C. Greene. The remaining papers by Rupert Hall, Joseph T. Clark, E. J. Dijksterhuis, Derek J. de S. Price, and Cyril S. Smith cover fields as diverse as studies on the structure of metals to the relationships between the philosophy of science and the history of science.

This publication indicates in a striking manner the catholicity of the history of science; professors of philosophy, the history of science, the philosophy of science, history, biology, and metallurgy readily conferred with one another. Perhaps Crombie put the problem of the historian of science into focus when he said in his paper: "The nature of science is such that the historian must at every stage of his historical inquiries ask questions that are non-historical, though not anti-historical. He must for example ask, as an historian, whether something is good or bad science, thereby introducing a non-historical evaluation, based on his own superior scientific knowledge, that is nevertheless essential for his historical judgment of the course of events. In other words, if it is the first duty of an historian of science to see the problems as they were seen in a given period by those who were then facing them, it may be argued that it is equally essential to his understanding for him to appreciate the aspects of the problem that have been revealed only later and that perhaps could not have been seen in the period in question. In this way the development of science itself can continue to shed new light upon history."

One last practical word: in the day of high publication cost, the University of Wisconsin Press is to be complimented on producing such a handsome volume at a relatively low price. May this be an additional encouragement to people to purchase this valuable book!

Goucher College GEORGE A. FOOTE

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Ancient and Medieval

GODS AND MEN: THE ORIGINS OF WESTERN CULTURE. By *Henry Bamford Parkes.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1959. Pp. xii, 489, vii. $7.50.)

THOUGH the volume before us is, in a sense, a history of the ancient world from paleolithic times to the fall of Rome, it is neither a textbook nor a detailed monograph. The author assumes that his readers will already possess a considerable knowledge of antiquity and therefore pays little attention to such matters as chronology; there are no maps; and the illustrations are not especially helpful. The value of the book lies in the author's philosophical interpretation of history and in his many obiter dicta.

Mr. Parkes is much concerned with the problem of organizing society in such a way that men will be assured the blessings of peace, law, and order, but at the same time enjoy perfect freedom. He comes to the conclusion that these rather contradictory goals are attainable if all men accept the same general beliefs ("myths" he usually calls them) and voluntarily conduct themselves accordingly. Dominated by this fundamental idea, the book is essentially an account of the rise and fall of social myths in antiquity. At the time when men were creating these myths, and believed them, everyone is said to have been happy and free, but when criticism had undermined society's fundamental beliefs, mankind reverted to war and social chaos, and eventually fell under the rule of tyrants. The author is delighted with the social ideals of the Hebrew prophets, the intellectual freedom of fifth-century Greece, and the rugged honesty of Rome under the early Republic, but he sadly indicates that these glorious periods were followed by the theological tyranny of postexilic Judaism, the military despotism of the Hellenistic monarchs, and the sterile bureaucracy of the Roman Empire. The principal cause of this decline lay in the fact that the myths essential to these early societies had been the creation of small groups of men (the author often calls them "tribal") and were utterly unacceptable to the other peoples. With the advent of Christianity, however, a new and truly cosmopolitan myth arose which soon absorbed the best features of its predecessors.

Though the author's earlier writings have dealt with American history, he has consulted the leading contemporary works on ancient history and he shows a familiarity with classic literature. His remarks on the social significance of art are especially interesting. But there are too many minor mistakes in his book, each of which is trivial in itself but whose cumulative effect is discouraging. Still more important is a fundamental contradiction in the author's account of fifth-century Greece. The intellectual freedom of that age, which he so admires, encouraged critics to attack the old mythology upon which Greek society rested. Surely the author should deplore such undermining, just as Plato did. Plato damned the Sophists heartily for their destructive activities, but Parkes strangely praises them

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and damns Plato. The emphasis that he places upon social myths shows that Parkes is at heart a Platonist, but his chapter on Plato is most unsatisfactory. When the time comes for a second edition, this chapter should be rewritten. And finally, the author's judgments may sometimes occasion surprise or even misgiving. Thus his belief in the all-importance of ideas in history leads him to suggest that St. Paul, by inventing the doctrine of justification by faith, rendered himself to blame for the wars of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and in the chapter on postexilic Judaism he declares that at that time pious Jews hated not only the Gentiles but also other Jews who might differ from them on matters of theology and ritual. In support of this contention about "pious hate" the author cites several passages in the Scriptures, among them the Twenty-third Psalm.

University of Illinois J. W. Swain

HISTORY AND THE HOMERIC ILIAD. By *Denys L. Page.* [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume XXXI.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 350. $8.00.)

In one of the most exciting volumes of the long and distinguished series of Sather Classical Lectures, Professor Page grapples vigorously with problems that have been discussed and fought over by classical scholars for 150 years and more. New evidence from recent linguistic and archaeological discoveries is utilized to the full, and a searching study of the *Iliad* itself in its structure, vocabulary, composition, and basic philosophy of life sheds much fresh light on the questions at issue. The work is a notable contribution in its field.

It begins with a generously documented reexamination of the extant Hittite records. Forrer in 1924 announced that he had identified in them references to the Achaeans with mention of many Greek names of persons and places; in 1932 Sommer demolished the whole structure of this theory. Page thinks we may salvage part of it, accepting Ahhijawā and Millawanda as designating the land of the Achaeans and Miletus, and he would place the Greek kingdom of Ahhijawā on the island of Rhodes.

A survey of the archaeological remains in Chapter II concludes that Troy VIIa with its evidence of destruction by violence and burning shortly after 1250 B.C. must be the actual city that was taken and sacked by the Achaeans; folk memory of this exploit formed the historical kernel from which sprang the legend of Troy, celebrated in Greek tradition and epic poetry.

Reverting to the Hittite texts in Chapter III, the author recognizes some faint evidence that Achaeans were in contact and perhaps in conflict with a kingdom of Assuwa in northwestern Asia Minor in the second half of the thirteenth century. Chapter IV turns to the *Iliad* and shows convincingly that the Achaean and

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Trojan catalogues are substantially inheritances from the Late Mycenaean period and are orders of battle of an actual expedition.

An examination of the inscribed tablets from Pylos and Knossos in comparison with the Homeric poems in Chapter v reveals many differences, since there are few points of contact between poetry and the business world; but when they do meet, one finds agreement and no contradiction. Chapter vi, starting with proof that the Greek epic goes back to the Mycenaean era, demonstrates that many of the traditional formular phrases in the Homeric poems that were first fully understood and explained by Milman Parry are definitely survivals from the epics that were already in existence in Mycenaean times.

Evidence for multiple authorship of the *Iliad,* especially as it appears in the story of the embassy to Achilles and in the account of the Achaean Wall, built in the tenth year of the war, is ably discussed in the appendix.

This summary gives no adequate idea of the wealth of interesting material offered in the text of this fascinating book and in the abundant accompanying notes. An immense effort of research and study has gone into the work but the product has not lost its freshness and vitality. Page expresses his views in a vivid style with directness, clarity, and sparkling flashes of wit and humor. His argument, founded on evidence, is penetrating and cogent. The general conclusions will be accepted by most open-minded readers, and—even in an area in which almost religious faith has established itself—many should be contented with the place accorded that mysterious and shadowy poet Homer, who somehow first successfully put the *Iliad* together from numerous inherited oral lays and ballads and infused the whole with his own genius, which shines through despite all later additions and changes.

Athens, Greece CARL W. BLEGEN

FROM THE GRACCHI TO NERO: A HISTORY OF ROME FROM 133 B.C. TO A.D. 68. By *H. H. Scullard.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1959. Pp. xi, 450. $6.00.)

THIS work is a fresh and up-to-date study of the central period of Roman history which had its beginning with the Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus. The author has already published the prelude to this new work in his contribution to the Methuen Series *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146* B.C. The present volume, however, opens with a summary of political, intellectual, social, and economic conditions that obtained in Rome at the close of the Punic Wars.

The author then proceeds with a consideration of the Gracchi, the first assaults on the Republic, and the beginning of the revolution that could only end in the destruction of the Republic itself. The principal steps in the story of the last stages of republican history—the rise and fall of Marius, the dictatorship of Sulla, the rise of Pompey, and the final victory of Julius Caesar, his death, the

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Second Triumvirate to the Battle of Actium—are related in clear and precise terms. Here the author pauses before going on with his narrative to discuss such matters as the economic and social life of Italy and the provinces at the close of the republican era. A chapter is also set aside for a brief consideration of art, literature, and thought in the late Republic.

Dr. Scullard's account of the Augustan settlement, which includes a clear statement of Octavian's principal problem and the steps whereby he solved that problem, is followed by the history of the Julio-Claudian period. This is a departure from the usual practice of closing the history of the Republic with the Battle of Actium. Thus the transition between the Republic and Principate is happily included in this single volume. The historical narrative closes with the final elevation of Vespasian and Tacitus' remark "a secret of empire was revealed that an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome." A new era in Roman history had begun. The concluding chapters consider briefly all aspects of Roman life as they appeared at the close of the Augustan dynasty.

This book was not written for the general reading public. It was intended for the advanced student, to furnish him with an up-to-date treatment of the subject and "to give some indication of the sources and some of the problems that they raise. . . ." Pursuant to this end, each chapter is furnished with a complete set of notes. These are designed to give the reader a knowledge of both the significant primary sources and the latest and the best of the secondary sources now available to scholars on each topic considered by these chapters.

This book is a significant contribution to the study of Roman history within the limits set by the author, and it surely will not be replaced for many years to come.

University of South Carolina RICHARD H. CHOWEN

POTESTAS UND CARITAS: DIE PÄPSTLICHE GEWALT IM SPÄTMITTELALTER. By *Ludwig Buisson*. [Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht, Band 2.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1958. Pp. xi, 448. DM 34.)

THIS book attacks a central problem of medieval history—the underlying causes for the weakening of papal control over the Church at the time of the fifteenth-century concordats. The author thinks that we must consider not only the circumstances of the Great Schism but also the whole development of the concept of papal power from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. He begins with the Augustinian doctrine, much emphasized in Gratian's Decretum, that all power in the Church should serve the end of promoting charity. Christ himself was the supreme exemplar of power informed by love and so the model for all prelates, especially for the popes. The comparison of the pope's powers with

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those of Christ led to far-reaching claims for the papacy, but it also constantly reminded medieval theologians and canonists of the high ends to which papal power should be directed.

In considering the canonistic theory of dispensation Dr. Buisson finds a significant turning point in the doctrine of Innocent IV. This pope held that, although in many matters a pope could not dispense without due cause, where matters of positive law only were involved his mere will could suffice; and Innocent IV specifically applied this doctrine to dispensations permitting plural holdings of benefices. Hostiensis pointed out that a pope who did dispense in this fashion would commit a sinful act, and later canonists developed and emphasized this point of view. It is suggested, therefore, that Innocent IV had propounded a theory of arbitrary papal power which subsequent popes applied but which the canonists increasingly attacked. The canonistic doctrine on scandal provided another ground for attack on the actual practices of the curia in the disposal of benefices, and some eminent canonists even held that any notorious offense that gave scandal to the Church could be regarded as a form of heresy, the one crime for which a pope might be deposed. Meanwhile the canonists' reflections on the nature of oaths, especially in their applications to royal coronation oaths, resulted in an outlook very favorable to the growth of royal power.

The Schism multiplied the accusations of scandal against the papacy, but the Pragmatic Sanction itself must be regarded as the culmination of a long process of doctrinal development.

Although I agree with much of the argument, a few criticisms seem necessary. My own reading of the sources has not led me to suppose that there was any sharp cleavage between the popes' own conception of their *plenitudo potestatis* and the *communis opinio* of the canonists concerning it. (The cleavage between papal theory and papal practice is another matter.) Again, the author has not used adequately the manuscript sources of the early thirteenth century and this in turn has led him to neglect some important and relevant issues. He does not, for example, consider at all the complex of problems concerning the canonistic term *status ecclesiae,* and, although he has occasion to refer to the pope as a *dispensator,* he never comes to grips with the jurists' theory of *dominium*—a really crucial problem. The discussions of canonistic influence on theories of secular government are interesting, but definitive work in this important field can only come from a scholar who knows his Bracton and Beaumanoir as thoroughly as his Hostiensis. Indeed, while this is a stimulating and useful book, the main impression it leaves is that a good many more books will be needed before we reach any final understanding of the problems that it raises. But this is perhaps more a compliment than a criticism.

Cornell University BRIAN TIERNEY

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LA NAISSANCE DE L'ESPRIT LAÏQUE AU DÉCLIN DU MOYEN ÂGE. Volume II, SECTEUR SOCIAL DE LA SCOLASTIQUE. By *Georges de Lagarde.* (2d ed.; Louvain: Éditions E. Nauwelaerts. 1958. Pp. viii, 343. 240 fr. B.)

In the first edition of *La Naissance de l'esprit laïque,* this part, *Secteur social de la scolastique,* was Volume III. It is Volume II in the second edition. The change no doubt is a result of M. de Lagarde's reflection that logically the social philosophies of the scholastics of the thirteenth century must be appreciated in order to understand Marsilius of Padua (treated in Volume II of the first edition). A more important change is in the considerable improvement of the last chapter. While the author repeats the old conclusions—the diversity of the philosophers' thought, their general acceptance of Aristotle on the naturalness of society and the state and the common good, and the growing *laïcisation* in this naturalism—he adds a valuable discussion of the influence of feudalism and the rise of towns and the new economic life on scholastic thought.

For the most part the contents of the book are well known as a generally good treatment of the political and social theories of the extreme and moderate Aristotelians, the secular theologians (Henry of Ghent in particular), and Franciscans (Duns Scotus and Pierre d'Auriole). The author continues to emphasize the central theme of the problem of lesser corporate communities in relation to the end of the common good of the state as a whole. The influence of Émile Lousse's interpretation, that *corporatisme* prevented the development of the state in the later Middle Ages, remains but is fortunately modified, for Lagarde observes how the common good of the community was ultimately superior to all individual rights of great men and corporate "estates" within it.

Despite the fact that recent scholarship goes largely unnoticed, this book is still a valuable introduction to the political and social ideas of the thirteenth-century scholastic philosophers and theologians. The works of Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, and the like had probably very little influence in royal and city governments; the legal ideas of the jurists who often served princes and cities as advisers and judges were practically speaking more important in the actual political life. But the philosophers reflected on these matters, and, while receiving something from the legal thought, contributed in turn fundamental ideas to legists and canonists as well as to Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham. While their premises belong to theology and metaphysics, they understood quite well many practical and natural aspects of the state and accepted along with the fundamental law of God and nature some relativity in the relations of the state and its laws to new situations or different kinds of environment. Thomas Aquinas recognized the secular needs of human society without losing himself in the mysticism of "order." Pierre d'Auriole openly scorned the idea that God sanctioned only one kind of political organization.

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The author still exaggerates the secular naturalism in Jean de Meun, associates the rising idea of the naturalness of the state only with the revival of Aristotle's *Politics,* and slights the contributions of the new legal science to the philosophers. But he could not do everything. What he has done is to give a fine interpretation, based on good sense, of an interesting part of medieval intellectual history.

University of Wisconsin GAINES POST

Modern Europe

THE ARMADA. By *Garrett Mattingly.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1959. Pp. xviii, 443. $6.00.)

THIS is one of those rare books that delight the casual reader and satisfy the scholar. The style is charming, the evidences of scholarly research, though not obtrusive, are abundant. We can follow the author as he explored the Spanish and French archives, the Vatican at Rome, and the Public Record Office in London, with at least brief visits to Florence and to The Hague. His objective was to place the defeat of the Spanish Armada in its European setting and in this he succeeds. His book opens with the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in February 1587 and ends with the murder of the Duke of Guise in December 1588. It is an exciting period and embraces within its scope many of the most interesting personalities in the history of the sixteenth century—Elizabeth of England, Philip of Spain, Pope Sixtus V, Alexander Farnese, Henry III of France, Henry of Navarre, Francis Drake, and even a short glimpse of that belligerent Welshman, Roger Williams. Professor Mattingly makes much of them and depicts them with a skill that recalls the best work of Aubrey and Fuller and the masterly biographical sketches in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.*

Mattingly is quite without religious or national bias. His appraisal of Cardinal William Allen and of Father Robert Parsons might have been written by a zealous Roman Catholic. As we should expect, he leans if anything toward the Spanish viewpoint, partly because most books written in English lean the other way, partly because he has a passionate interest in and a passionate desire to present the other side of the question. One has but to compare his account of the Spanish effort with Froude's *Spanish Story of the Armada,* both of them based upon much the same evidence, to realize the difference between an objective and a partisan approach. Mattingly's sympathetic account of the much-maligned Spanish Admiral Medina Sidonia will, it is hoped, erase Froude's distorted picture of him as a craven coward.

If the book has any hero it is Bernardino de Mendoza, sometime Spanish ambassador to England, but in this story ambassador to France, who, nearly blind as he was, fought hard for the Spanish cause in France and who was largely re-

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sponsible for the domination of the Spanish Guisan party there when the Armada came up the Channel.

The newest part of Mattingly's book has to do with the dissemination of the news of the Armada as it progressed, and the gradual disillusionment of Mendoza himself—his early assurance of victory, his developing doubt, and finally his realization that the fight had gone the wrong way. Unfortunately, with the first news of victory, he rushed into print. Lord Burghley at once seized upon the opportunity, retorted with *A Pack of Spanish Lies,* and made much of what he called Mendoza's mendacities.

There are certain aspects of the story upon which we wish Mattingly had dwelt. We wish he had discussed his findings on the behavior of Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, about which there is a wide difference of opinion among Elizabethan historians. We wish he had told us about Secretary Walsingham's notable agent in Spain who went by the name of Pompeo Pelligrini but who was in fact Anthony Standen, a Roman Catholic refugee, who later returned to England and joined the party of the Earl of Essex. We wish he had said something about Elizabeth's efforts at Constantinople to induce the Turk to make a flank attack upon Spain in the Mediterranean. But we must not expect everything.

Though Mattingly agrees that the defeat of the Spanish Armada was one of the decisive battles of the world, he does not believe that it was decisive for the reasons usually advanced. It did not terminate the war between England and Spain. It did not mark the beginning of the English colonial empire or even the transfer to England of the sovereignty of the seas. He regards it rather as the medieval world regarded trial by battle. Both sides had fervently appealed to God to vindicate His cause and the outcome, as it convinced the warring Protestants that God was indeed on their side, convinced the warring Catholics that Spain was not, after all, God's chosen champion.

Mattingly discredits the prevalent notion that victory over the Armada created in England a spirit of buoyant optimism, or had a great deal to do with the flowering of the English drama that followed. We need not differ from him in these terms, but certainly England in the nineties was a different place from what it had been in the eighties. Elizabeth herself was different. She turned quickly from a defensive to an aggressive policy and with her, as with her councilors, the old fears gave place to a new confidence in England's strength and in England's destiny.

Villa Nova, Pennsylvania CONYERS READ

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONFRONTS THE GODS. By *Frank E. Manuel.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 336. $6.75.)

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ALL the textbooks agree that eighteenth-century Europe was an age of secularization. But it is easier to repeat such a generality than to understand it. We need to know more than we do about the shift in consciousness from a God- to a man-centered world. What were the psychological consequences of the loss of faith? Did it arise from the pursuit of science, political theory, and history, and how did it change these disciplines? To what extent was the secular spirit a return to paganism? The answers to some of these questions are suggested in Mr. Frank Manuel's searching, informative, and civilized study of eighteenth-century theories concerning the gods, of pagan and—at first by timid implication and later with bold directness—of Christian myths.

Pursuing his subject through thickets of pedantry and imagination, Manuel has shrewdly concentrated on the writers whom historians have neglected. He has allotted space in proportion to each writer's contribution to mythology rather than his subsequent fame. Charles de Brosses, who is known to posterity largely because Voltaire picked a petty quarrel with him, receives detailed analysis here for his theory of fetishism, while Voltaire is mentioned only fleetingly. This procedure is at once sensible and arduous: Manuel has struggled through dozens of little-known treatises, some of them exceedingly long and many of them deservedly forgotten. But his book goes too far in its search for balance: some philosophes, like Rousseau, were merely famous and did little to advance, or hinder, the science of mythology, but their writings on primitive man are a part of the story. Indeed, Manuel's curt treatment of Rousseau leads him to oversimplify the relation of German writers to their master. He simply calls Herder and Hamann "Rousseauist" without observing that their reading of Rousseau as primitivist, from which these pseudo-Rousseauists drew their strength, was a misreading.

Tracing the fortunes of various interpretations through the century, Manuel finds three major schools of thought, each with its variants. There is the allegorical school: tales of the gods are allegories of vices and virtues; the Euhemerist school: historical personages are apotheosized; and the psychological school: men create gods out of fear, hope, gratitude, or (a significant variant for the Enlightenment) rulers invent gods to control their ignorant subjects. Manuel presents the complicated interplay of these schools with nice detachment from historical cliché and an equally nice sense of relevance. He knows that mythology is closely related to theories of progress and the "trial of Christianity."

While his analysis is important to all students of the eighteenth century, some reservations remain. In his laudable attempt to get to the sources, he has overlooked, or at least fails to mention, other students of myth like Jean Seznec, Ernst Cassirer, or Fritz Saxl. As a result, Manuel, who has frequent occasion to refer to the prehistory of his subject, says nothing about what Seznec has called the "physical" interpretation, which makes gods of heavenly bodies and natural events and survived through the ages largely in astrology. Moreover, Manuel

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underestimates the vitality of Euhemerism in the Christian Middle Ages by giving the impression that the allegorists had it all their own way. A longer look at his subject would have led him, I suspect, to emphasize the vigor in the eighteenth century of the psychological school, an interpretation that had been invented by the ancient Greeks but was equipped by Hume and Holbach with unprecedented destructive power.

Manuel's book is, nevertheless, a contribution that historians will long study with great profit. His analysis of eighteenth-century man's relations to the gods is valuable in its own right, but it also throws much-needed light on his relation to God.

Columbia University PETER GAY

DIE TRÄGER DER RAPALLO-POLITIK. By *Herbert Helbig*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 3.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 214. DM 16.80.)

THE purpose of this book is to dispel the often-voiced suspicion that Germany and Russia entered into an "Unholy Alliance" during the 1920's, aimed at revising Germany's eastern frontier against Poland. The author, a professor at the Free University of Berlin, has used most of the relevant German documents thus far available for research. He also has had access to the papers of Generalkonsul Moritz Schlesinger, one of the key figures in Russo-German relations; and he has consulted other Germans who had firsthand knowledge of his subject. The book contains three separate studies, dealing respectively with the genesis of the Treaty of Rapallo, with Brockdorff-Rantzau's role in Russo-German relations, and with the various efforts during the twenties to deepen the contacts established at Rapallo. The first and longest essay is by far the most important. In uncovering and disentangling the many threads that were woven together at Rapallo, the author has added substantially to our knowledge. The second study is a revised and enlarged version of an earlier article. Based chiefly on Brockdorff-Rantzau's *Nachlass,* it provides the first authoritative analysis of the ambassador's aims and activities in Russia. In this connection it is worth noting that Helbig is at present working on a full-length biography of Brockdorff-Rantzau. The third essay disposes of the question as to whether there existed at any time a true alliance between Weimar Germany and the USSR. Suggestions for such a treaty were made on one or two occasions by the Russians. But as Helbig demonstrates convincingly, such advances were stanchly resisted by those Germans chiefly responsible for relations with Russia, notably Stresemann and Brockdorff-Rantzau. If there is one criticism one may raise after reading this otherwise excellent book, it is against its heavy emphasis on Brockdorff-Rantzau. To be sure, he was the best horse in Germany's diplomatic stable, a man who commanded the admiration of the Russians and who inspired the deepest loyalty among his subordinates.

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But was he always infallible? His intense involvement in his work was not only an asset but a liability. He was quick to sense personal insults where none were intended, and his frequent threats to leave his post made life most difficult for the German Foreign Office. It was Stresemann's modifying and stabilizing influence that proved invaluable on such occasions. The latter is still considered chiefly an exponent of German westward orientation; yet his role in Russo-German relations was far from negligible. Despite personal differences, Stresemann and Brockdorff-Rantzau substantially followed the same course toward Russia, and in their own way both tried their best to maintain the slender thread that connected Berlin with Moscow.

Johns Hopkins University HANS W. GATZKE

THE SCHUMAN PLAN: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC COOPERATION, 1950–1959. By *William Diebold, Jr.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1959. Pp. xviii, 750. $6.50.)

SOMETIMES union has come about as the result of a definite constitutional structure. There are many examples of this, from the Constitution of the United States to the Charter of the United Nations. Quite as often the approach has been functional rather than organic. Thus Western Europe of today is being slowly knit together by a variety of activities that separate governments have agreed to carry on in common, such as the numerous and overlapping trade and military agreements since the Second World War. One of the boldest experiments in this direction was the plan of the French statesmen Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet for a community based on a supranational control of the iron and steel industries of the Rhineland area. As Mr. Diebold dramatically puts it: ". . . a foreign minister who took a major foreign policy initiative with little or no consultation with his own ministry; a rapid elaboration of the final version of the plan in great secrecy by a tiny group of people; only the briefest discussion before the Cabinet . . . endorsed a measure that went well beyond foreign policy and would have a major effect on the defense and the economy of France; almost immediate public announcement with only the shortest notice to allies and others on whose assent success would depend."

This daring initiative conquered the misgivings of the French and German legislative bodies, won the adherence of the Benelux nations, and added Italy to the original core. Britain, with extra-European relationships, was more hesitant, especially since the Labour government, then in office, was engaged in nationalizing the very industries in question. In the author's opinion, no British government would have adhered to the plan, though other ministers might have handled the matter more tactfully. Of course Communist Eastern Europe would never have touched the community, and distant America had only an indirect relationship to it. "American approval of the Schuman Plan was based princi-

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pally on its obvious importance as a step toward Western European integration and toward the establishment of a durable, constructive relation between France and Germany." America's share in the business was limited to "help, influence, and the protection of American interests," and all three were on a minor scale. Unlike some of the other unifying activities of modern Europe the Schuman Plan owed very little to American aid and advice.

Diebold covers not only the first shaping of the Schuman Plan but also its modification and development over a span of ten years, the various problems it had to meet, and the effect that this "partial integration" and "illogical coexistence" have had on international relations in other areas. "Euratom" and the "European Economic Community" (created by the Common Market Treaty) owed much to the example of the Coal and Steel Community, but were structurally distinct. In the main, the story is one of success, warranting some optimism for the future: "the Community had demonstrated a higher degree of flexibility in method and greater adaptability in changing circumstances than might have been imagined by a reader of the Treaty or a listener to the ratification debates." Former enemies, such as the German Socialists, have been converted into friends.

The study is as definitive as it possibly can be, since the European situation is continually changing. The author has spared nothing in his attempt to be accurate and comprehensive. The excellent critical bibliography does not reveal all his sources, for he has had frank but confidential talks with many public men concerned with the Schuman Plan, and as he states it, "much of what I say about points of view rests on them."

Ann Arbor, Michigan PRESTON SLOSSON

THE ELIZABETHANS AND AMERICA. By *A. L. Rowse*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 221. $4.00.)

PROFESSOR Rowse's latest volume of Elizabethan studies consists of discourses delivered at Cambridge University when he was chosen to give the first Trevelyan Lectures. His own statement is the best description of his intentions: "My aim his been to make clear what the Elizabethans contributed to the making of the greatest of modern nations. Though the story of the Roanoke efforts and the Jamestown colony may be familiar, I have more that is new to offer. For example, though we know that Queen Elizabeth I was interested in everything that concerned America, no one has hitherto put together the evidence and told us precisely what she did in the matter. The signal services of Sir Ferdinando Gorges towards the cause of New England colonization have been largely overlooked. . . . [Concerning the Pilgrim fathers and the founding of Massachusetts Bay colony] I do not know that anyone has disentangled and brought out the Elizabethan element in all that, or the varied and striking reflection . . . of America in the literature of Shakespeare's age."

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A Fellow of All Souls may be forgiven this mild if somewhat inaccurate claim of originality when standing before his peers in Cambridge. Although the background of colonial American civilization may hold less interest for English than for American scholars, and, indeed, the story may be unfamiliar on the Isis and the Cam, it is not precisely an untilled field. In the works of Professor Conyers Read and those of a number of other scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, one may see revealed the intricacies of Elizabethan politics and foreign policy that determined the attitude toward expansion overseas. But Rowse retells the story with zest, sometimes with the sprightly verve of the best of the Third Programme narrations, and he is to be congratulated for making easily accessible so much that is significant in the background of colonial enterprise.

The monumental research of Professor D. B. Quinn of Liverpool University into the voyages and discoveries of the sixteenth century, especially his recent *Roanoke Voyages* in the Publications of the Hakluyt Society, has made a fresh interpretation of those events inevitable, and Rowse has used commendably this scholarship in his lectures. The first chapter concerns the familiar conflict between the contestants for the New World: the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French, and lastly the English. This is followed by a chapter on Queen Elizabeth and America, one on "Raleigh, Hakluyt and Colonization," and other chapters on "Virginia," "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and New England," "Pilgrims and Puritans: The Elizabethan Element," "Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the Northwest Passage," and finally, "America in Elizabethan Literature, Science and the Arts."

Some of Rowse's generalizations are deliberately provocative and are certain to stir dissent among a considerable body of historians who may not be disposed to agree with certain of his views. For example, his pleased approval of a traditional view that the Puritans generally hated music, belles-lettres, and the arts will find vigorous opposition, and the following statements could gain for him a long hour's debate in Cambridge, Massachusetts: "No civilized person who cares for the arts can have much liking for them [the Puritans]. Nor can one forgive them for their attitude to the dear Church of England—though no doubt some of the bishops were proud, pompous, and prelatical. . . . We observe the Puritan obsession with sex, the natural concomitant of repression; they had not very nice minds. Their dominating art was of the pulpit, and pulpit oratory is a vulgar art."

With Rowse's enthusiasm for the activities of men from the West Country in behalf of colonization, it is odd that he omits one of the most eloquent pleaders, Richard Eburne of Somerset, who in 1624 published *A Plaine Path-Way To Plantations*. While Rowse gives considerable attention to Sir William Alexander's *An Encouragement To Colonies*, also published in 1624, he overlooks Eburne's significant work which has received some notice in recent years.

Although one may quarrel with certain of the author's pet views of Tudor and Stuart history, *The Elizabethans and America* is a stimulating synthesis of

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some of the recent scholarship in its field. It is a readable, entertaining, and useful addition to the popular interpretations of early colonial enterprise.

Folger Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE STRUTTS AND THE ARKWRIGHTS, 1758–1830: A STUDY OF THE EARLY FACTORY SYSTEM. By *R. S. Fitton* and *A. P. Wadsworth*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. c. 1958. Pp. xii, 361. $7.50.)

THIS volume is a valuable addition to published source material on early industrialization. It presents copious extracts from the private correspondence and business records of the Strutts and Arkwrights as well as extended commentary and analysis by the two authors. New materials found in 1950 at the English Sewing Cotton Company's West Mill at Belper have been used to supplement the existing Strutt collection housed at the Derby Public Library. These new materials touch upon some of the most disputed aspects of the social and economic history of the early industrial period, such as courtship, marriage, family life, education, Nonconformity, and social mobility as well as the technical problems of machine patents, capital supply, factory discipline, labor turnover in the cotton mills, industrial building, raw materials, and changing markets at home and abroad.

Among these issues two are of general interest: social mobility of the factory owners and workers' reactions to factory employment. Jedediah Strutt, a lowborn but high-minded journeyman wheelwright and farmer, patents the Derby rib machine (an attachment to the old stocking frame) in 1758 and becomes "a putter-out of hosiery." Through his dissenting connection he obtains some capital backing and within a decade becomes a prosperous manufacturer. Shortly thereafter he grasps the potential of Arkwright's roller spinning machine and, together with the Nottingham hosier Samuel Need, helps create the water-powered factory community at Cromford. His three sons go into specialized branches of the family business while his two daughters struggle hard to learn French. Under the second generation the Strutt cotton concern becomes the largest in the country, noted as much for the well-being of its workers as for the excellence of its equipment, buildings, and products. In 1817, William Strutt, friend of the Darwins, Edgeworths, and Benthams, is elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and his son, married to the bishop of Chichester's daughter, is created Baron Belper by Queen Victoria in 1856.

On the economic side there is evidence of the frictions and frustrations attending the conduct of manufacturing businesses in the years before the communications revolution. But of special interest is the material on early factory conditions. Derbyshire mill hands seem not to have had an especially hard time; opposition to the factories came chiefly from those outside whose domestic industry was being undermined. The proportion of total wages forfeited for indiscipline was minute, damage or theft was infrequent, and principal offenses had

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to do with absenteeism, neglect of materials or machines, and such human infractions as "Calling thro' window to some soldiers," "Throwing tea on Josh Bridworth," "Telling lies to Mr Jedediah," and "putting Josh Hayne's dog into a bucket of hot water," this last outside of working hours! If conditions in the Derbyshire mills were not wholly representative of the factory system, they were at least typical of the best; for this we have the testimony of such severe critics as Owen, Faucher, Peter Gaskell, and, more recently, the Hammonds.

American development was also affected by these changes in England. Dr. Fitton has compiled an excellent set of statistics which show the rising share of Strutt cotton imports from the South during the unsettled years 1794–1817. It was, moreover, from this Derbyshire milieu that Samuel Slater emigrated in 1789 after serving his apprenticeship in the Strutt factory at Milford. There is a discrepancy perhaps in footnotes on pages 169 and 210 concerning Samuel's relationship to William Slater. There are also American industrial buildings of greater "antiquity" than those cited on page 107.

University of Wisconsin ERIC E. LAMPARD

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume XI, 1783–1832. Edited by *A. Aspinall* and *E. Anthony Smith*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxx, 992. $15.20.)

To issue a selection of documentary material (even one running to nearly a thousand pages) for the crowded half century before the Reform Bill argues a certain hardiness of spirit. For the editors must know (at least if they have read the reviews of previous volumes of the series) that they cannot expect altogether to satisfy anyone. One reader will want to know why there is any material on Ireland, another why there is not more, or why Scotland is hardly noticed. Someone will surely observe that constitutional development receives too much attention, and it will appear to someone else that the personal touch, unless in first-hand reports of battles, seldom makes itself evident, perhaps because of faulty selection by the editors, perhaps because of the incredibly stuffy epistolary style usually practiced by the statesmen of the age.

Whatever such dissidents may say, there is no doubt that this volume, which closes an important gap in the series to which it belongs, brings together a valuable selection of materials. The contents are divided into eight parts, dealing with as many broad aspects of the period, each section having a brief special introduction and bibliography. There are several helpful lists and statistical tables, some useful maps of parliamentary representation, and a substantial general introduction.

The work makes three definite contributions. In the first place, merely bringing the material together gives us something, especially as a considerable number of the documents have never been published before, while others come from

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sources not readily accessible. Secondly, the constitutional section amply demonstrates the continued real power of the crown and supports the editorial remark that "Peel, not Pitt, was the first Prime Minister of the modern type." And, finally, the bibliographies, though necessarily brief, take notice of recent articles in periodicals and survey the manuscript resources available to the researcher. One would like to know, incidentally, why Granville Sharp is described as a Quaker, contrary to all the authorities and in spite of the fact that he published a tract against Quaker principles. Yet on the whole the editors have done their work well. We must be thankful that the task has enlisted the prodigious and meticulous industry of Professor Aspinall.

Brown University CHESTER KIRBY

THE IMPERIAL IDEA AND ITS ENEMIES: A STUDY IN BRITISH POWER. By *A. P. Thornton*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 370. $7.50.)

THE characteristics of the British Empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are exasperating to one seeking the grand synthesis and the brilliant generalization. In the era of imperial expansion colonial policy displayed a bewildering inconsistency; and, while the "absence of mind" on which some Britons prided themselves was overstated, there was no evident mystique of empire, no clear consciousness of purpose. In the twentieth century, as the power of Britain receded, these contradictions continued. "Imperialism," an amorphous concept at best, seemed to scholars peculiarly inappropriate in relation to the extension of British power overseas.

Professor Thornton, though aware of these difficulties, has endeavored to describe the British "imperial idea." This, he says, was the faith of those in the last generation of the Victorian era who believed in Britain's mission to civilize the backward races and to establish law and order. Though the Boer War and the First World War shook the "imperial idea" severely, the British Empire after 1918 retained great power. British influence in the Near East was dominant, the Indian empire remained stable, power was exerted almost without challenge throughout a vast dependent Empire, and the Dominions, though self-governing, still looked to Britain as the strategic center. But in the interwar years malignant forces appeared: the threat to British position by Germany and Japan; the emergence of nationalism in India and Egypt, foreshadowing the great upsurge after World War II; and the "impact of democracy" within British society, adding to the force of traditional radical anti-imperialism, that of the socialist Labour party. The drain on her resources imposed by the Second World War left Britain unable to carry out world-wide responsibilities, and in 1956 the debacle at Suez dramatized the collapse of an already defunct imperialism.

The above is a simplified summary of the author's theme. In elaborating upon

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it, he is both stimulating and irritating, stimulating because he wrestles with large questions and draws on great resources of knowledge, irritating because he is frequently diffuse and opaque. Too often, particularly in the discussion on Britain between the two wars, the reader is caught in a maze of rhetoric, tantalized by the thought that somewhere there is a key idea but uncertain as to precisely what it is.

"Democracy's" relationships to foreign policy and to empire are far more complicated than Thornton's analysis would indicate. And the "imperial idea," which appears so coherent on first description, soon loses its symmetry as the term is applied to a variety of viewpoints not entirely in harmony. Dilke, Chamberlain, Goldie, Smuts, and Disraeli, for example, were guided by somewhat different assumptions and strove for differing objectives. The Socialists on one occasion are described as being in fact Gladstonian imperialists who opposed the "orthodox" imperialists; and the author finally concludes that in British history imperialism and liberalism, and imperialism and socialism, were natural allies rather than natural enemies. These generalizations may be debatable, but the author does not demonstrate their validity.

On the other hand, the breadth of the author's grasp and the suggestiveness of many of his ideas make this a book which, whatever its defects, commands attention. The first few chapters are excellent and written with a clarity that one would wish had continued throughout the book. Thornton's appraisal of the late Victorian and Edwardian ethos which gave to the British Empire its distinctive characteristics is particularly shrewd, as is his analysis of the "public school character" ("one of the most potent of the imperial elixirs") and of the outlook of the "service class." He brings to life again the heroic age of G. A. Henty and John Buchan and challenges the attention of students of the British Empire, some of whom, as the author hopes, will undoubtedly be impelled to further investigations.

University of California, Los Angeles JOHN S. GALBRAITH

NINETEEN THIRTY-ONE POLITICAL CRISIS. By *R. Bassett.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 464. $6.00.)

THE publication of this work appears to be motivated by three purposes. First, it attempts to prove the importance of the events leading to the formation of the National government in 1931. Mr. Bassett goes so far as to say: "The political crisis of 1931, which resulted in the formation of the National Government and its subsequent electoral triumph, has probably had an influence upon the course of British politics greater even than that of 1846, with which it has sometimes been compared." Second, the author takes issue with prevailing interpretations of these events, arguing that they have been produced by prejudiced authority or by men who purposely or unwittingly repeated the opinions of those

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who lacked objectivity in the matter. Finally, the book aims at providing a new portrait of Ramsay MacDonald, a patriotic, reasonable, but sorely tried prime minister, misunderstood by his colleagues, but admired by those who understood the character of his contribution to British politics.

What may be said of so unorthodox an approach? That it has the advantage of novelty is certain: the originality of the interpretation may be its principal virtue. As for its accuracy and objectivity, that is another matter. The thesis about 1931 is stated but not proved. Bassett's interest is so engaged by other problems that he neglects this one. Whether an argument could have been produced to show that 1931, in political or constitutional terms, mattered immensely is at best dubious. To compare it with 1846 is almost certainly an exaggeration; the expulsion of three aged, though prominent leaders, from the Labour party cannot be compared with the split that caused two decades of party turmoil and that led important young men out of the Tory fold permanently. In criticizing prevailing interpretations of 1931, Bassett is on firmer ground. He is particularly effective in showing how various interpretations all depend upon the same small body of dubious evidence. The question remains, however, whether he has come closer to the truth than those with whom he finds fault. His passion for MacDonald, however interesting, is unconvincing. Any prime minister will at one time or another have attracted favorable newspaper comment. You do not prove a man's qualities by citing such evidence. Even if one accepts the fact that in certain respects, as a parliamentarian, for example, MacDonald excelled in comparison with Philip Snowden, J. H. Thomas, Arthur Henderson, and J. R. Clynes, this is not proof that he possessed great qualities. Bassett's portrait of MacDonald lacks measure and is therefore unacceptable.

Harvard University STEPHEN GRAUBARD

THREE AGAINST THE THIRD REPUBLIC: SOREL, BARRÈS, AND MAURRAS. By *Michael Curtis*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. 313. $6.00.)

MR. Curtis undertakes the interesting and intriguing task of analyzing the attacks that were made by two extreme Rightists and an extreme Leftist on the ideology and institutions of the Third French Republic and upon the tenets of liberal democracy in general. He explains that he chose Sorel, Barrès, and Maurras because they furnished the chief weapons that were used against the regime between 1885 and 1914 and because their ideas resembled somewhat the basic principles of the totalitarian regimes that appeared in Europe later.

The purpose of this analysis is to show how remarkably similar many of their ideas and criticisms of the Third Republic were. Although their motives and goals were different, the three objected to the idea of the isolated individual, the concept of natural rights, government by means of discussion, the electoral

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system, political parties, overcentralization of the government, the presence and the power of the Jews in France, and the decadence and lack of heroic action which they thought they saw about them in France.

That Sorel, the advocate of the general strike, should be found sharing these views with the self-styled reactionary, Maurras, and the proponent of psychological determinism, Barrès, comes as a surprise to those of us who tend to keep the ideas of extremists on both ends of the political and social spectrum neatly separated. Still it is noteworthy that the three critics and some of their contemporaries recognized the kinship of their ideas. Maurras, for example, flirted with the CGT in the early years of the present century, and Barrès and Sorel collaborated briefly as fellow directors of the nationalist review *L'Indépendance*. Also, in 1906, amidst a flurry of strikes in Paris, Clemenceau, as prime minister, ordered the arrest of the leaders of the groups for which the three were the theorists for plotting against the Republic.

The value of this study lies not only in its portrayal of the kinship of many of Sorel's ideas with those of the two extreme Rightists but also in the restrained manner in which this is done. Their differences are likewise stressed. Maurras wanted to restore the seventeenth-century French monarchy, while Barrès devoutly hoped for a man on horseback similar to Napoleon I. Both wanted a strong French government and, above all, a powerful France. Although Maurras was an authoritarian, Barrès best anticipated the doctrines of Mussolini and Hitler. So, in regard to the aims of the three, Maurras was nearer to Sorel in that he argued that only the monarchy was strong enough to permit both professional republics (*syndicats*) as well as local or provincial republics. Sorel differed from the other two in that he would have no part in trying to secure control of the government of France by political means. While he deplored the decadence of France under the Third Republic, he protested against its oppression of the workers. He wanted to crush its authority by means of syndicalism and strikes. This struggle would eventuate in a moral regeneration and in the emancipation of the workers. They would be free men and, because they would work at tasks that they enjoyed doing, they would again be artists fulfilling themselves by doing creative work.

This reviewer finds that the study leaves little to be desired in terms of its purpose. It is an interesting and stimulating contribution to the literature on French political and social theory. Every student of French history and institutions should find reading it a very rewarding experience.

Hendrix College W. C. Buthman

THE INDIVIDUALITY OF PORTUGAL: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL-POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY. By *Dan Stanislawski*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. c. 1959. Pp. xiv, 248. $5.00.)

Professor Stanislawski comes to grips with a question that all historians of

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Portugal since Herculano have had to face: Does any reason exist, other than political events largely accidental, for an independent Portugal when the rest of the Iberian Peninsula has long been united? Stanislawski, in opposition to Herculano and others, finds both geographical and historical evidence for his own belief that Portugal has such "individuality."

In his favor is the fact that he makes little of the ancient Lusitanians, since the somewhat poetic assumption that they were the ancestors of the Portuguese was long ago refuted. He considers the arguments from climate, environment, and geographical location far more important. He finds that Portugal north of the Tagus, which alone is germane to his argument since the Alentejo and Algarve are simply conquests by the original Portugal, has an "offside" position that has caused a comparative neglect of it by all invaders from the Phoenicians to the successive waves of Moslems. Inside this rather secure pocket, the pre-Portuguese had an opportunity to develop their national characteristics. He adds many more arguments such as boundaries between Portugal and Spain, which he maintains are more solid and meaningful than has been supposed, for after all they have lasted seven centuries.

Stanislawski provides a searching analysis of the geography, climate, soil, and vegetation of the Iberian Peninsula. This will be useful even to those who do not accept the main argument. He also provides a history of Iberia from the Old Stone Age to the Christian reconquest, more history, to my mind, than is needed for the purpose.

I believe that Stanislawski's argument would have had additional interest if attention had been paid to Catalonia on the opposite coast, which presents a problem similar to that of Portugal. Here is the case of a people who, linguistically at least, are farther removed from Castile than is Portugal. Yet they did unite with the Castilians, though they are occasionally unhappy about it to this day.

Has Stanislawski proved his case? A categorical answer is impossible, for this is one of the debates that go on forever. He has given substantial and rather original arguments, and if future historians deny what he says, they will, nevertheless, be unable to ignore it.

University of Illinois CHARLES E. NOWELL

PRINCES AND PARLIAMENTS IN GERMANY FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *F. L. Carsten*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 473. $8.00.)

THIS is a big and long-awaited book on a big and, as the author justly says, "very much neglected subject": he wishes to discover why, in contrast to the English Parliament, the Estates of the German principalities, far from developing further from the positions attained in the sixteenth century, instead declined. No other problem is more urgently in need of a solution than this one if we

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are ever to attempt an answer to the question that insistently obtrudes itself on us: "What went wrong with Germany?"

Mr. Carsten has already addressed himself to this problem in his previous book, *The Origins of Prussia.* (Brandenburg-Prussia, accordingly, is not systematically treated here; the Hapsburg territories and the ecclesiastical states are likewise omitted, and deferred for treatment in a third volume. Württemberg receives the most thorough discussion.) The solution offered in the present rather unevenly written book is on the whole clearly worked out, although many questions are left unanswered, and on the whole convincing, though surprisingly tame (which is not Carsten's fault) and in an important respect perhaps anachronistic. The German Estates' resistance to the princes "was sapped by social and economic changes, by the price revolution, and especially by the Thirty Years War"; moreover, they were internally divided, and so in a number of instances allowed the princes to introduce new forms of taxation which made their own existence dispensable. But beyond this complex of facts, "one of the decisive differences" between the German and the English developments consisted in the refusal of most of the German Estates to contemplate resisting infractions of the constitutions by force: "the spirit of the Roundheads was singularly absent from seventeenth-century Germany." This important element is, as Carsten recognizes, itself in need of explanation. Though he speculates on the effects of Luther's teaching on passive obedience, he clearly prefers social and economic reasons: "There was no London and no Paris to oppose the king, but only small, declining towns, with an anxious spirit and few resources. . . . The nobility and the towns were bitterly hostile to each other. No revolutionary movement could arise under such conditions." This is all just; only on Carsten's own showing many of the territorial towns (as opposed to the free cities) were already in decline during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the period of the Estates' ascendancy. Moreover, the mutual hostility of the nobility and the towns in Germany is rightly contrasted with the crucial cooperation of their English counterparts during the Civil War, explained in terms of our old friends the knights of the shires and the gentry who were in a position, socially and constitutionally, to mediate between the great nobles and the urban population. But this situation, if correctly stated (cf. the qualifications suggested by Professor Trevor-Roper), had its firm origins in English history in the thirteenth century. The persistent suspicion arises, therefore, that the German Estates were doomed from the start, that their apparently flourishing state of health in the sixteenth century was deceptive (this is indeed explicitly admitted in the case of Hesse), and that Carsten's book is merely an extremely valuable, thorough, informative, though not always conclusive, laboratory exercise showing how worms struggle on a hook.

An additional question that comes to mind is whether we are all on the right track in accepting English political development as a paradigm. It would be at least refreshing, and probably revealing, if we could find a way to escape from

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this point of departure, to stop asking what went wrong with Germany, and instead to ask how the English got so far out of line. Such a discovery, however, would involve an effort of political imagination probably beyond our means.

Cornell University W. M. Simon

DIE ARBEITERBEWEGUNG IM WILHELMINISCHEN REICH: DIE SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHE PARTEI UND DIE FREIEN GEWERKSCHAFTEN 1890–1900. By *Gerhard A. Ritter*. [Studien zur europäischen Geschichte aus dem Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Volume III.] (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag. c. 1959. Pp. 255. DM 18.)

This is an impressive book both in extent of research and acuteness of analysis. Mr. Ritter has read widely in the printed materials, particularly in official party and trade-union publications. He has attempted a fresh survey of primary sources, preserving throughout a critical but not hostile attitude toward previous interpretations. In addition he has concerned himself with a most useful delimitation of those problems whose further study he sees as needed. Understandably, not every aspect of the subject is covered with equal thoroughness, and it should be noted that the work is centered on the period of the nineties.

The author is not so much interested in ideological differences—though he shows real understanding of Marxist theory—as in sociological analysis. His problem is the workers' movement as a whole. While he does not take sides as between trade-unions and the Socialist party, or between revisionists and revolutionists, his judgment is that the workers gained in strength and achievement in direct proportion to their acceptance of the existing framework of German society and their growing willingness to work within it. The process of assimilation was mediated very largely through the trade-unions. The Socialist party itself comes off badly. The author sees it as frozen in revolutionary formulas and consistently missing its opportunities to become a great popular party. It underestimated the importance of the unions because of totally unrealistic expectations of imminent revolution, it failed dismally on the agrarian question, and it was evasive and inconsequent in cooperating with middle-class parties. Union leadership, Ritter suggests, was overly timid, but the unions, rather than the party, were clearly the center of the workers' movement well before the revisionist controversy. Through working out regularized relations with employers and state, the unions created "bridgeheads" in the bourgeois world from which the worker extended his influence into ever-wider fields of German political, economic, and social life. Bernstein merely articulated the obvious. His publications were in fact a source of annoyance to many who, while in agreement with him, could see nothing but harm in stirring up controversy needlessly.

Ritter is careful to emphasize that his book is a sketch rather than a complete

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account. He argues that much previous work has led to oversimplified generalization and that historians in the future must pay more attention to the diversities of union and party developments on the local level. His outlining of such possible research problems is precise, informed, and thoughtful.

Connecticut College LENORE O'BOYLE

BISMARCKS RINGEN UM DEUTSCHLANDS GESTALTUNG. By *Otto Becker*. Edited and completed by *Alexander Scharff*. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. c. 1958. Pp. 963. DM 58.)

HISTORIANS of modern Germany have been until recently more interested in foreign than in domestic affairs, in Germany's unification and her position in Europe than in her internal development. Hence it is that we have had to wait so long for a detailed study of so important a theme as the origins and development of the German constitution of 1867–1871. This huge book is the result of many years of pious effort by a scholar whose career was largely spent in Bismarck research. On Becker's death in 1955 a colleague, Alexander Scharff, assumed the task of editing the manuscript and writing the two final chapters.

The long years of effort and constant rewriting show in the fullness of the material and in the maturity with which the evidence is examined and related. Many new documents fill in missing chinks and plaster over previous uncertainties in the story. Highly important is Becker's revelation that Bismarck intended from the beginning to assume the chancellorship and create a Reich executive body. By making this point obscure in his original draft of the constitution he avoided serious opposition from his colleagues in the Prussian cabinet. Later he permitted the Reichstag to amend the draft in a way to justify growth of a central executive under his own authority. In this as in many other matters Becker shows that *die Kunst des Nacheinanders* was one of the *Junker* genius's greatest talents. His tactic was to solve the most dangerous problems in stages, each of which, once achieved, led logically to the next. This is the most recurrent theme of the work.

In a eulogistic foreword Scharff writes of Becker's dedication to the "ruthless revelation of truth" and his rejection of partisan falsification in historical writing. Conscious of the dangers of the "soulless authoritarian state," he "coined" the concept of the "free national state" whose function was to provide for the free development of the individual and the spiritual and moral forces of the nation. In his view the "healthy, genuine, and creative" element in German history was to be found in a combination of the ideal of freedom, arising from the "depths of the people," and the Prussian tradition of the *Machtstaat,* stemming from the Great Elector, Frederick the Great, and Bismarck. Here again can be seen that fatal linking in German thought of the concept of freedom with the authoritarian

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state so ably described in a recent work by Leonard Krieger. It is tragic to see that none of the experiences of his own lifetime taught Becker to desist from the traditional German attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable.

By his "free national state" Becker obviously meant the Bismarckian, in contrast to the Hitlerian, Reich. That there was any causal connection between the two he would, of course, deny. He was one of those nationalistic historians to whom the Second Reich was the pinnacle of German political achievement. Like most of them he felt the urge to identify himself with its founder, but actually achieved the reverse. Hence Becker insists that Bismarck was always a German patriot eager for the ultimate fulfillment of national unity. He denies the existence of a "Prussian nation," although both the expression and the sentiment were common before 1870 and appear repeatedly in the words and writings of Bismarck and William I. Predictably he takes the view that Bismarck would never have settled for anything less than the complete expulsion of Austria from Germany. The leaders of the *Nationalverein* are made responsible for the halt at the Main in 1866 because of their refusal to cooperate in convoking a "preparliament" at Bismarck's request. Naturally Becker also maintains that in 1870 the chancellor's intention was to complete German unification by evolutionary means and that the war arose solely from French denial of the German right to national self-determination. Otherwise he would have been compelled to face the possibility that the founder of the German nation-state lost confidence in the spontaneous power of the German national movement to achieve his ends and deliberately invoked as a substitute the artificial stimulus of a national crusade against the French. For all his love of objectivity Becker scarcely disproves Beard's dictum that written history is an "act of faith."

University of Illinois OTTO PFLANZE

THE DEATH OF THE PRUSSIAN REPUBLIC: A STUDY OF REICH–PRUSSIAN RELATIONS, 1932–1934. By *Earl R. Beck*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 31.] (Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1959. Pp. x, 283. $6.00.)

IT is of course obvious that the history of Prussia throughout the Weimar and Nazi eras cannot be understood without reference to the history of the Reich. Indeed, the history of Prussia is so inseparable from that of the Reich that any attempt to recount the first as distinguished from the second is bound to encounter insuperable difficulties. The evolution of the present study illustrates this perfectly. The author planned to investigate the reasons for the fall of Prussian democracy in the early 1930's. In pursuing this investigation, he came to concentrate, as his subtitle indicates, on the relations between the Reich and Prussia. He wished to dwell on the developments in Prussia, but he found that what happened there from 1932 to 1934 was intelligible only when viewed as part of

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the larger German scene. In the end he gave the Reich rather than Prussia the bulk of his attention. Nonetheless the allusions to Prussia are frequent and extensive enough to justify the title.

The author has examined important collections of unpublished sources, notably the protocols of the German and Prussian cabinets and the files of the United States Department of State. He has also utilized filmed portions of the Schleicher *Nachlass* now in the *Bundesarchiv* at Koblenz. With the aid of these materials, he has traced the fall of the Prussian republic and assessed the responsibility not only of the foes of democracy but of its defenders as well. The latter, he correctly notes, "played it safe" at a time "when there still remained an outside chance to save democracy from destruction." The heart of the book and by far its strongest section is the long and detailed analysis of Papen's chancellorship. The coup of July 20, 1932, against the Prussian government and the ensuing trial before the German Supreme Court in Leipzig are handled with commendable thoroughness and insight. Here the author makes a real contribution. To be sure, as he himself concedes, there are still a good many lacunae in our knowledge of some of the men and situations he has chosen to treat. But his solid and perceptive monograph will undoubtedly be of help to future researchers.

University of Chicago S. William Halperin

FROM JOSEPH II TO THE JACOBIN TRIALS: GOVERNMENT POLICY AND PUBLIC OPINION IN THE HABSBURG DOMINIONS IN THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Ernest Wangermann.* [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 212. $4.00.)

Without much mental contortion a persuasive case could be developed for the view that the subtitle of this work should simply be "the impact of revolutionary France upon the managers and the inhabitants of the sprawling realm of the Hapsburgs." The best part of the book deals with the "Jacobin conspiracies," centering principally in cosmopolitan and intellectually exciting Vienna, in dissident middle-class circles of Hungary, and in a company of university students at Innsbruck. The arrests of Francophile citizens, their trials, in which more than a semblance of legality prevailed due in large part to the sturdy and resourceful intervention of Baron Karl A. Martini, second president of the supreme judiciary (his enlightening *Vortrag* is reproduced as an appendix), and the net results of the whole episode considerably amplify the pioneer researches of Walter C. Langsam.

For richness and depth of original materials explored, this book stands in a class apart; warnings of gaps in the surviving evidence due to the ravages of arson and war are from time to time properly introduced. Discriminating balance in judgment matches the skill and energy of Mr. Wangermann in research and

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in sifting the wheat from the chaff. That fluid something called "public opinion" crops up repeatedly and it would have been helpful if the author had somewhere offered his working conception of the term.

In the early chapters a searching and successful attempt has been made to appraise the response to the reforms of Emperor Joseph II by varied segments of his subjects. A tug of war between the privileged elements, lay and clerical, bent on the revocation of detested legislation, and partisans of the "Enlightenment," middle-class men in the vanguard, determined to preserve the progressive gains, greatly stimulated political consciousness. The tide of revolution in France imparted fresh energy to the forward cause in Austria, whose spokesmen vigorously condemned armed Hapsburg intervention against the new French order. That antipathetic attitude plagued Emperor Leopold II and his youthful, unprepared successor, Francis II; and official dread of a rebellion to throw down the Hapsburg police state persisted until 1801.

As a piece of literature, this meritorious and really interesting book, which appears in a series of theses originally submitted for higher degrees at Oxford, could do with some improvement; paragraphs are frequently so short and choppy as to be disconcerting. A comparative study of the response in Austria to French "Jacobinism" and to Russian Bolshevism would make an instructive contribution to historical learning.

University of Rochester ARTHUR J. MAY

THE CRIME OF GALILEO. By *Giorgio de Santillana.* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 338. Cloth $6.50, paper $1.75.)

THE crime of Galileo was not that he challenged a church determined to suppress innovation, Professor de Santillana maintains, but that he ran afoul of a set of intriguers willing to misuse the Church for personal ends. The "learned coalition," the "custodians of wisdom" with their "interlocking caste interest," in a word those who presided over traditional learning, saw both in Galileo's work and in his vernacular presentation threats to their position and prestige. Readily accessible lay the Church of the Counter Reformation; a hierarchy that never realized what it was doing docilely obeyed the will of its servants, and Galileo was silenced. If the author dismisses the traditional charge against the Church, he does not for a moment deny her responsibility for being thus passively exploited.

In transcending the stale battle cries of bygone contentions, Santillana raises us to a new level of insight. Even when we acknowledge a major contribution, however, we may still raise questions. Is new Intrigue perhaps old Church writ large? Does it not continue to explain on the level of malevolence what seems to require explanation on another plane? The book implies that Galileo's theories were demonstrated so decisively that beyond the ranks of the stupid malice alone

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could have blocked their acceptance. The intriguers "quickly appraised the new theories and decided to make short work of them." Thus to state the case seems to underestimate the profundity of what Galileo proposed. Is not Santillana nearer the truth when he says in another place that Galileo "saw 'prematurely'. . . what ordinary minds like the Vatican astronomers could realize and communicate only a century too late"? The apparent assumption that without the intrigue Galileo would have carried the Church smoothly into recognition of the new cosmology underestimates in a similar way the extent of the readjustment required. The scientific revolution shook Christianity, Catholic and Protestant alike, to its very foundation. Over half a century after Galileo's trial, scientists such as Newton were still anxiously examining the implications modern science held for religion. However much they dreaded, we realize now that they scarcely suspected the tenth part. When Santillana writes that "it was [Galileo's] bad luck and nothing else to run into a coalition of forces which decided that he must be liquidated," he is placing chance at the center of the stage where necessity belongs. Possibly the conflict could have taken another form. Perhaps Galileo himself might have avoided entanglement, but surely a similar episode, and more than one, was bound to arise from an intellectual change of such magnitude.

Grinnell College RICHARD S. WESTFALL

RISORGIMENTO E CAPITALISMO. By *Rosario Romeo.* [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna, Number 531.] (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1959. Pp. 207. L. 1,400.)

THE form of this short book (it consists of two long essays first published in 1956 and 1958 in a periodical, *Nord e Sud*) can easily obscure its interest and significance. It has a specific importance for students of the *risorgimento* and its aftermath, but it is also interesting and important as an essay on historiography. It includes a modest but challenging test of the theories and analytical models that economists have devised to explain the process of capital growth and the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy in underdeveloped countries.

The "model" that Romeo challenges is the Marxian one as applied to Italy by Gramsci. Gramsci, in his *Risorgimento,* represented that movement as a light that failed. The Italian bourgeoisie, timorously refusing to identify itself with the peasants—the Italian "proletariat"—to overthrow, by means of a "Jacobin" type of revolution, the surviving elements of a feudal and theocratic regime, renounced its historic "mission." This mission was to create a democracy and at the same time a national market of consumers on which a modern capitalistic structure could be based.

In his first essay Romeo reviews at length postwar studies by Communist historians who were inspired by the Gramscian thesis or shared its assumptions. Well aware that the liberal historiography of the *risorgimento* has lacked "a con-

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tent conforming to the most recent interests of historical research," Romeo welcomed these books as a fresh, alive, and fruitful approach to the subject. His criticism of all of them, and of Gramsci, is that while the authors profess to be writing "scientifically," their investigation "is placed at the service of an abstract historical model and not *vice versa*."

Having delivered this attack on Marxist historiography, Romeo felt impelled to offer his own construction of the socioeconomic revolution that took place in Italy after its unification. The result is Part II of the present volume.

The author has met the Marxist historians on their own ground, accepting Gramsci's view that the vital problem for Italy emerging from the *risorgimento* was the mobilization of capital with which to achieve industrial power, and that what is historically in question is "the efficacy of the Risorgimento as premise to a modern development of Italian life." Finding the models of the Marxists not only compulsively used but out of date, Romeo has sought and found his in the writings of Gerschenkron, Nurske, and other students of economic growth and capital formation in underdeveloped countries. Tackling bravely the task of analyzing and interpreting statistical series, he has tested these models against the statistical data now available for the period 1861–1887. He emerges with a picture of a ruling class that sensed the problem of the nation correctly. By drastic taxation and public works that class created the "infra-structures" of industrial capitalism, and by these and other means effected the transfer of capital from agriculture to heavy industry. In doing this they struck at the activity that was then the principal source of Italy's wealth and economic progress and thus inflicted widespread hardship on the peasant majority of the population, notably in the south. It was a cruel process, but not more cruel, Romeo argues, than the effect of the inclosure movement in England and far less cruel than the measures inflicted to the same end by the Communists on the peasants of Russia. As for "the efficacy" of the process, or, if you please, "of the Risorgimento," as "premise to a modern development of Italian life," Romeo points to the fact that, in spite of severe economic handicaps and strong demographic pressures, "Italy alone among the nations of the Mediterranean area succeeded in creating a great industrial apparatus and a highly developed urban civilization." He cites with pride the startling conclusion of Colin Clark that "the rates of development of the real product per man-hour" in Italy during the last century have exceeded those of the United States (since 1870), of Japan, and even of the Soviet Union.

In short, Romeo's conclusions are: that the democratic agrarian revolution that Gramsci and other Marxist historians would have had the *risorgimento* effect was impracticable, given the ignorance and backwardness of the Italian peasants and the hostility of mid-century Europe to "Jacobin" revolutions; that, if successful, its effect would have been undesirable, since—or so economists now believe—productivity, not mass consumption, is the mainspring of economic growth; and finally that the Italy produced by the *risorgimento* and shaped by its moderate-

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liberal leaders has achieved a striking success in acquiring the benefits of modern civilization.

I have reported only the central thread of argument in this little book and have not done justice to the breadth of thought and knowledge that the author displays. Romeo, like Croce, believes that the truth we need is to be found in history. He writes with a vigor, generosity of spirit, and confidence in an appeal to the facts, interpreted reasonably and in the light of the values of our day, that his master, Croce, would applaud.

Baltimore, Maryland KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

THE RUSSIAN PUSH TOWARD JAPAN: RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS, 1697–1875. By *George Alexander Lensen.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 553. $10.00.)

THIS monograph concerns the origins of Russo-Japanese relations from 1697, when Russian first met Japanese, to 1875, when Russia and Japan agreed on a boundary settlement that assigned the island of Sakhalin to Russia and the Kurile Islands to Japan. The period is marked by Russian activity and Japanese passivity. Impelled in general by the forces that brought Russian dominion over Siberia and the North Pacific and in particular by the prospect of trade and a source of food supply for eastern Siberia, Russia sought commercial and diplomatic relations with Japan. But Japan had closed its doors to Europeans in 1641 and obdurately refused to open them to Russians. It was several voyages and 1739 before the Russians found the main island of Japan, and it was several voyages more and over a century later (1855 and 1858) before Japan's doors were thrown open to the Russians. In the interim Russians had knocked at the doors, preparing the way for Admiral Perry's success, occupied the northern Kurile Islands, acquired the left bank and mouth of the Amur River, and temporarily occupied the island of Sakhalin. After 1858, ironically, little of the hoped-for trade materialized, but the Russians did establish an Orthodox mission at Hakodate and won greater respect from the Japanese than did the other westerners. With two or three exceptions the Russian push toward Japan was notable for its restraint, growing understanding of the Japanese, and absence of hostility. But all this was to change after 1875 when Japan's industrialization and the cross-currents of European imperial rivalry in the Far East led Japan into continental expansion and conflict with Russia.

Professor Lensen's contribution is original in that no one has hitherto systematically and adequately treated this period of Russo-Japanese relations. He has utilized most, if not all, of the Russian literature on the subject and the pertinent literature in other Western languages. It is original too in that he has used a substantial number of Japanese sources, enabling him to set forth the reasons for the Japanese exclusion policy, the internal debates it aroused, the factors

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at work to break it down, and the Japanese side of the negotiations provoked by Russian advances. For Western readers this should be an appreciable addition to their knowledge and a substantial service. Unpublished archival material has not been used, but I doubt that such material would significantly alter the picture or conclusions.

This is a carefully written book, evidencing meticulous attention to details and scholarly craftsmanship. The author expresses himself clearly and well, and within his narrative framework his material is logically organized. Nevertheless it is not an easy book to read, for too often its pace is tedious and slow. Each voyage is narrated with so much detail about instructions to the commander, the complement of officers and crew, such quarrels as occurred, the route of the voyage, how the Russians were received by the Japanese, the negotiations that ensued, and so on, that one begins to think this a history of voyages and loses sight of essential developments. This treatment results in long paragraphs, long chapters, and a long book. That much of the material is interesting and colorful is not to be denied, but that it is always germane to the topic is open to question; and the detail slows the narrative down to a crawl, requiring the reader to backtrack frequently to pick up the signposts. Fortunately the book closes with an excellent summary, and the author's judgment and conclusions are sound and judicious.

A second criticism points to the opposite pole: an insufficiently detailed treatment of certain aspects, notably the factors and considerations operating at the governmental center, St. Petersburg. Here the push toward Japan was alternately encouraged and neglected. Though not ignored, the reasons for the policy at a particular time could be more thoroughly explored. As it is, the Russian advance seems too often to be local and unrelated to the rest of the Russian Empire. In short there is an imbalance of treatment.

The usual adjuncts of bibliography and index are adequate. There are several line drawn maps, not always easy to read. Still, however much the book would be improved by better balance and streamlining, it is a solid, useful work.

University of California, Los Angeles RAYMOND H. FISHER

RUSSIAN FAR EASTERN POLICY, 1881–1904: WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE CAUSES OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR. By *Andrew Malozemoff*. [Russian and East European Studies.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. 358. $5.00.)

IT cannot be said that writers on Russian subjects have neglected the diplomacy of the empire in the Far East at the turn of the century. Even many undergraduates study the story of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the rivalry between Witte and Plehve, the activities of the sinister Bezobrazov, and the final stumbling into

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the war with Japan, which brought military humiliation to Russia and gave the revolutionaries of 1905 their opportunity. No scholar so far, however, has given us a fully documented account of the foreign relations of the immediate prewar period, and the single effort that can be termed even partly successful, B. A. Romanov's *Rossiia v Man'chzhurii, 1892–1906,* dates in its original version from 1928.

Mr. Malozemoff's work attempts to remedy this deficiency. The book was written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California. Although the author died in 1952, his mother engaged the cooperation of the university's press in bringing the book to publication. Unfortunately it appears that the author was unable to get his work far beyond the stage at which so many dissertations are accepted. Attention is evenly distributed over great events and small. There are almost eighteen hundred footnotes for the nine chapters (as usual, buried in the back of the book). The author's own conception of the significance of what he has done is relegated to a bibliographical essay—incidentally, a very fine one—in which even there it does not emerge clearly. There is, moreover, not one line of conclusion, the book ending abruptly with the Japanese attack on Port Arthur. The bibliographical essay suggests that the author was capable of both analysis and balanced judgment, but the work remains a bare and dull narrative.

The narrative, however, will be useful to scholars. The earlier chapters are not completely satisfactory. The building of the Trans-Siberian Railway is labeled as "primarily strategic," and its intended (or actual) significance in the development of migration and the economy of Russian Asia is scarcely mentioned. In describing the ideologists of eastern expansion, the Slavophiles are irrelevantly included, but the *Vostochniki* are not fully explained. From 1895 the account is tighter, but it is still not easy for the reader to follow the varying fortunes of Russia in Korea, the impact of her European connections on the Far East, and the degree of her influence in China.

The last two chapters deal with the dispute between Russia and Japan actually leading to the war. On the dust jacket the publisher claims that it is shown that "Japan and not Russia proved the more aggressive" in this dispute. Since the author does not use sources in Japanese, this claim would be risky if the author made it, which he does not. He links the decline of Witte's influence to the rise of the Bezobrazov clique; he is critical of Witte, but also of Bezobrazov. His contention is that the latter's clique was not responsible for the war, not because it feared or opposed war, but because it was less influential than has been thought. Here, however, the author's argument is confusing: he claims that Bezobrazov's appointment as state secretary in May 1903 could be "considered a mark of high favor . . . , but not an expression of favoritism." Perhaps, but he still wielded great influence.

The story that emerges is one of a series of Russian imperialist ventures in Asia, no more or less vicious, if somewhat less well coordinated, than those of

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England, France, or Germany. But it would be hard to assign to this book any particular contribution in clarifying the old, tedious, confused story of the background of the Russo-Japanese War.

University of Washington DONALD W. TREADGOLD

THE SOVIET UNION BETWEEN THE 19TH AND 20TH PARTY CONGRESSES, 1952–1956. By *G. D. Embree.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1959. Pp. ix, 365. Glds. 22.80.)

A SOUND analysis of the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union during the years immediately following Stalin's death is a much-needed work in the field of Soviet studies. G. D. Embree's effort to satisfy this need moves from a short review of events prior to 1953, through the "doctors' plot" and the struggle for power after Stalin's death, to the first important changes in domestic and foreign policies. Thereafter, the book traces Khrushchev's rise, surveys the "new" foreign policies of 1955 in its most interesting and valuable chapter, and closes with an examination of the alarums, excursions, and decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress. Embree's account of this period of violent transformation from the Stalin era is capably organized and well written. It contains considerable information skillfully fitted into credible patterns but does not add much to what is already known. It seldom moves beyond the confines of high party politics and personalities and indulges excessively in a sort of "historical Kremlinology"—the art of guessing on slim evidence which important official was on his way up, down, or out at any given moment—and the vice of explaining (without benefit of direct evidence) the motives, maneuvers, and decisions of party leaders.

The author's methods of research are disturbing. He has not considered it necessary to learn Russian for his most difficult task. His main sources are newspapers, reports by the BBC, translations from the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press,* and the more learned writings of Western scholars. Despite the excellence of some of these materials, Embree's inability to use Russian makes him the intellectual prisoner of his sources. He is repeatedly compelled to draw his conclusions from scraps of information digested by others, or from the few lines of a Soviet document quoted fortuitously in an American or German article. There is also a marked tendency to accept the conjectures of journalists without troubling to discover whether, say, the brilliant hypotheses of New York *Times* reporters in 1953 and 1954 have been confirmed or destroyed by later developments. Surmises are occasionally transformed into facts by reference to the opinions of anonymous "western observers" and "western diplomats," and though Embree very often makes use of a cautionary "perhaps," he tends to consider statements thus prefaced as reliable bits of evidence upon which his conclusions may be founded. The author's spelling is the most atrocious this reviewer has ever seen in any published work. Hampered by these rather serious shortcomings, the book

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nonetheless provides a useful summary of significant events and their probable causes.

Michigan State University ARTHUR E. ADAMS

WAR AND THE SOVIET UNION: NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE REVOLUTION IN SOVIET MILITARY AND POLITICAL THINKING. By *H. S. Dinerstein.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1959. Pp. 268. $5.50.)

War and the Soviet Union is a title that covers many possibilities. The author's note, however, acknowledging his indebtedness to "instruction in military developments," taken together with the subtitle, *Nuclear Weapons and the Revolution in Soviet Military and Political Thinking,* well define its limitations. Although some might expect "research undertaken for the U. S. Air Force by the RAND Corporation" to concentrate on changing concepts of strategy, tactics, armament, and logistics, this volume centers around the changing belief in "The Likelihood of War" as expressed in Soviet publications, civil and military.

It is Dinerstein's underlying thesis that "The Soviet leaders now believe that the world balance of power has changed decisively in their favor." Yet, he argues, the Soviet Union does not believe that even nuclear weapons constitute a sufficient deterrent to a possible attack by the capitalist world, and therefore it persists in a posture of defense. The "revolution" he describes is an increased appreciation of the factor of surprise and of the possibility of "decisive defeat" of one of the combatants in an early stage of the war. It is his belief that if the Soviet Union should ever reach a point at which it feels secure against retaliation, it would not hesitate, in the event of serious threat of imminent hostilities, to launch a sudden "preemptive" (a nicer word than "preventive") war.

As Dinerstein tells the story, Stalin had after the failure of the Nazi invasion developed a somewhat smug confidence in the ultimate decisiveness of "the permanently-operating factors," among which industrial strength, popular morale, and ability of the commanders were the most important. The turning point, he believes, came with publication (September 1953) of an article in *Military Thought* by General Talenskii, then editor of that monthly organ of the Ministry of Defense. One can scarcely accept the suggestion that the ensuing power struggle between Malenkov and Khrushchev was intimately related to the question of military thinking; as Dinerstein himself shows, Molotov and Kaganovich, as well as Bulganin and Zhukov, were on Khrushchev's side in the matter of the likelihood of war.

The author has combed the mass of writings in the politico-military Soviet journals and has selected a very considerable bulk of evidence, interlarded with more frankly political speeches and articles by civilians, in support of his theory of a radical change in Soviet thinking on the problem of war, the means of avoiding it, and the methods of preparing for it. A random check on some of his

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sources indicates that his quotations have been translated with admirable accuracy. Yet in some cases they do not fairly reflect the context, as, for example, when he suggests that during 1954 Colonel Fedorov changed his views on the destructive importance of strategic bombing, without making it quite clear that the colonel was merely emphasizing his continuing belief that, for a number of other reasons as well, civilian morale has always been and increasingly will be the "decisive" factor in war. In another case a frequently cited General Pokrovskii (a doctor of science and a professor) is used to indicate that "as early as 1956" the ballistic missile was coming to be regarded as the "decisive" weapon. The author does not mention that even two years earlier this same professor-general had written that atomic and nuclear bombs constituted "the beginning of a new era in science" and had gone on to stress that the best weapons in the world are useless in the hands of those who, by reason of low morale, cannot utilize these advanced techniques effectively enough and that "the atomic weapon makes the factor of morale even more powerful than in an ordinary war."

The book supplies an interesting picture of recent Soviet theorizing on the topic but does not justify the idea that any revolution has taken place. There is no bibliography, and the index might almost as well not have been included.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

Far East

SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION IN CHINA. Volume III, MATHEMATICS AND THE SCIENCES OF THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. By *Joseph Needham,* with the collaboration of *Wang Ling*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xlvii, 877. $27.50.)

IT has long been known that if ever exact scientists of wide-ranging interests collaborated with Chinese scholars competent in their own language and literature, a new era in the history of science would begin. This volume, the third in a projected series of seven, fulfills these expectations. No one can read it and hold what Needham calls the "*idée fixe* of some Western scholars that no Chinese could ever originate anything." Indeed, one must concur with the assertion in his introductory volume that between the third and the thirteenth centuries China maintained a level of scientific knowledge unapproached in the West.

Volume II, which appeared in 1956, sketched the part that philosophy played in the development of Chinese scientific thought. This third volume deals with mathematics, astronomy, geography, cartography, geology, seismology, and mineralogy. It is fortunate, in a way, that these extensive studies were not attempted until our day. Recent archaeological discoveries and, above all, the rigorous criticisms that ancient Chinese writings have undergone in past decades lend to these studies a surer grounding than older investigators could claim.

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From the wealth of information provided in this volume it is possible, in a brief review, to list only a few findings—omitting the detailed reasoning and the translations from the Chinese in which the book abounds. As for mathematics, Needham maintains that the numeral system of the Shang dynasty (second millennium B.C.) was more advanced than in any other culture of high antiquity. Furthermore, he challenges the usual belief that the decimal place-value system came to China from India; he finds it in the numbering system of the inscribed oracle bones (fourteenth century B.C.) and in a Mohist text of about 330 B.C. The decimal system was, of course, applied to Chinese foot rules for more than twenty centuries. Allied to this is the concept of zero, which appeared in China by the fourth century B.C., that is, earlier than any record of it in India. Zero then had the primitive form of a blank space on the counting board. Needham accepts the traditional view that the oldest Chinese mathematical classic is the *Chou Pei Suan Ching,* which some assign to the third century A.D., but which he believes may go back to the fourth century B.C., with later accretions. Though the place-value of pi was determined with fair accuracy by the first century of our era, the mathematician Tsu Ch'ung-chih gave the accurate figure between A.D. 430 and 501—a figure not reached in Europe for a thousand years. Extraction of square and cube roots was highly developed in the first century B.C., as was also the use of negative numbers—the first appearance of such numbers in any civilization. On the whole the genius of Chinese mathematics lay in the direction of algebra rather than geometry.

Chinese astronomy is important, we are told, not for its theoretical but for its empirical and observational character. It suffered from the nongeometrical nature of Chinese mathematics and from a certain inhibition about making hypotheses. But apart from the Babylonians, whose records are largely lost, the Chinese were the most accurate and persistent observers in the world before the Arabs, as their vast astronomical literature shows. They constructed charts of the heavens in the third century A.D. and probably as early as the Han (207 B.C.–A.D. 220). Among the hundreds of illustrations that enrich this book is the unmistakable record of a nova inscribed on an oracle bone of about 1300 B.C. Prior to the Han, novae were naturally called "new stars" (*hsin hsing*); thereafter they were given the more vivid name "guest stars" (*k'o hsing*). Eclipse records go back to the fourteenth century B.C., and from then on are noted with greater regularity than in any other part of the world. Sunspots were registered in 28 B.C., or about one thousand years before we hear of them in Europe. Halley's comet was observed in 240 B.C. and possibly in 467 B.C. After 11 B.C. "every appearance of the 76-year cycle" was chronicled by Chinese astronomers. Halley observed it in 1682 and recognized it as one seen by Apianus in 1531 and by Kepler in 1607. Though weight-driven clocks originated in Europe in the fourteenth century, water-driven clocks with astronomical features, and with another kind of escapement, existed in China much earlier. An armillary clock is described in detail in a book written by Su

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Sung in 1088–1094. The earliest escapement was invented about A.D. 725 by the famous Buddhist priest-astronomer known as I-hsing.

It is unnecessary to particularize other features of this great book, such as the recording of earthquakes, the making of a workable seismograph in A.D. 132, the long history of map making, or the use of plants as ore indicators. It is enough to say that at every stage illuminating parallels are drawn with similar developments in Babylonia, India, Greece, Persia, and Europe. As in Volume II, the implications of the Chinese world view are lucidly set forth. Needham suggests, quite rightly, that it was a world view in which no Chinese felt truly at home apart from the cosmic pattern. No library of science and no person interested in the history of science can dispense with this book.

Washington, D. C. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

CONFUCIANISM IN ACTION. Edited by *David S. Nivison* and *Arthur F. Wright.* [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 390. $8.50.)

THIS volume, comprising essays by eleven authors, is a continuation of two others: *Studies in Chinese Thought* (Chicago, 1953), edited by Arthur F. Wright; and *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago, 1957), edited by John K. Fairbank. It aims to explore those areas in Chinese life in which Confucian ideas played a part—in the family, in "bureaucratic behavior," and in the power exercised by the throne. In addition, there are two papers explaining how Confucianism affected politics and education in Japan. The editors are aware of the difficulties of this task; for to investigate what in Chinese life is specifically Confucian is like inquiring what in Western civilization is essentially Christian. Naturally those contributors who grounded their conclusions on established biographical and historical data tell us most about "Confucianism in action." Five of the eleven papers are of this type: two on teachers of Confucianism in the Tokugawa period; one on the notorious eighteenth-century Chinese figure Ho-shen; and two on the clan rules of families rooted in the Confucian tradition. The principles that guided one such Chinese family for twenty-two generations (A.D. 1050–1760)—the family of the eminent statesman Fan Chung-yen (989–1052)—are set forth in admirable detail by Denis Twitchett of Cambridge University.

The other contributors, though brilliant in their reflections, often labor under the handicap of treating the subject abstractly. Their reasoning has about it a quality of unreality which, in the opinion of this reviewer, Confucianism in practice does not have. One needs only to read the *Analects* or the *Book of Mencius* —or better still, live some years in China—to realize that Confucianism is not a dogma, a theory, or a system with a coherent body of knowledge. Consequently it does not lend itself well to dialectical analysis by the detached observer. It consists rather of insights or intuitions (discovered empirically over many centuries)

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about right human behavior in concrete social relations. Such insights are self-validating, grounded in the nature of man, and must be experienced to be fully understood. In short, ethics in China is an art. Art by nature is creative and is concerned with ever-changing situations. It is true that later Chinese thinkers, under the influence of Buddhism, tried to make Confucianism a coherent philosophy; but this philosophy, like others, is only a ladder which as Wittgenstein said, we first use and then kick away.

This tendency toward overgeneralization is observable also in the very frequent use of the derogatory terms "bureaucrat" or "bureaucracy" to characterize the scholar or the office in which he served. True, there were officials who could be so described; but in every period, too, there were upright government servants who died poor and remonstrated against abuse of power. The usual picture of a self-perpetuating gentry, oblivious to public opinion, is greatly overdrawn. Happily, one of the contributors, Miss Hui-chen Wang Liu, consistently uses the words "scholar-official," thus giving the term "bureaucrat" a much-needed rest.

Washington, D. C. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

STUDIES ON THE POPULATION OF CHINA, 1368–1953. By *Ping-ti Ho*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 4.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 341, xxxii. $6.00.)

STUDENTS of Chinese history are chronically faced with the problem of how to put a reasonably accurate valuation on the quantitative dimension of Chinese culture. How many Chinese have there been at various times in China's history? At what rate, on what pattern, and under what influences has the Chinese population reached its present tremendous size? The Chinese record gives an abundance of figures, but subject, alas, to the usual strictures about the mendacity of statistics. Some of the improbabilities are obvious: the national figures for the long Ming period (1368–1644) show a static population, while the Communist regime in 1953 discovers 100,000,000 more people than it had estimated in 1951. The most searching and intelligent critique that has yet appeared on this baffling and important subject is Dr. Ho's study. He has gone behind the surface of official population registrations into the vast and relatively unexplored world of the Chinese "gazetteers," where he has found an abundance of remarkably interesting local detail with which to illuminate, even in many cases to "show up," the national figures.

The first part of the book is a study of the official population record from 1368 through 1953, a period during which the population of China grew from about sixty million to 583,000,000. There has never been a scientific census in China, not even the relatively careful Communist "census" of 1953. In the past, the prevailing purpose of population recording was fiscal rather than demographic; the government was counting tax units rather than persons. The results have

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consequently always been on the low side, both because of corruption, evasion, and other reasons for underreporting and because of the government's belief in traditional tax quotas, not automatically increased to keep pace with the expanding population. Ho's exploration of the peculiar characteristics of these figures is sophisticated and judicious. He rejects the conventional definitions of the key terms used in the records and examines the intricate relationship of labor services, their commutation into the *ting* tax, and its merger with the land tax as affecting population statistics. The second part of the study considers more generally, but with the same astuteness, certain factors that have influenced population growth either favorably or adversely, such as the introduction of new or improved crops, migration from one region to another, government policy, absence of technological revolution, and catastrophes, both natural and man-made. Throughout, the author emphasizes the importance of understanding periodization and institutional development rather than of playing tricks with figures. Though it contains its fair share of statistics, Ho's book is not meant as a statistical study of the growth of China's population during the past six centuries; as he has made clear, the materials for such a study do not exist. Rather, it is a soundly based, richly detailed, and genuinely humanistic contribution to the economic history of China.

Mount Holyoke College MERIBETH E. CAMERON

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA. Volume II, THE MAURYAS AND SATAVAHANAS, 325 B.C.–A.D. 300. Edited by *K. A. Nilakanta Sastri*. [Published under the auspices of the Indian History Congress and the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. Pp. xx, 918. $28.50.)

A Comprehensive History of India, planned in twelve volumes, is the most ambitious project ever undertaken in that field. The present volume is the first to be published, runs to over nine hundred pages with eighty-eight plates of halftone illustrations, and took seventeen years after being planned to reach first publication (1957), during which period three of its sixteen contributors died. The editor is Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, one of the most distinguished of Indian historians, and the other fifteen contributors are also well-known Indian authorities. The work is designed for scholars rather than for the general reader or for use in schools. It owes a good deal in format and something in method of treatment to the *Cambridge History of India,* which, however, is designed on less than half the scale of the present series.

The purpose of this volume is "to give a clear and accurate account of the social institutions and cultural achievements of ancient India against the perspective of its political history." Hence only about a third of the space is given to political history as such, and the rest is devoted to economic development, social

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institutions, law and administration, religion and philosophy, language, literature, architecture, sculpture, and painting. The history of Ceylon is treated, as is also the cultural and colonial expansion of India to Central Asia, China, and the Far East. The coverage, therefore, is geographically wide and intellectually varied, and the volume is encyclopedic in its contents, constituting a cultural history of the six centuries with which it deals. So numerous are the subjects treated that, in spite of the size of the volume, such an important one as the six orthodox Hindu systems of philosophy receives only nine pages of exposition with briefer and less systematic comment elsewhere. It must be noted, however, that philosophy is rightly not separated from religion, since this is the prevailing Indian attitude, and religion gets much fuller treatment as a whole.

There are a number of controversial points on which this volume takes a definite stand. For example, the *Arthaśāstra,* ascribed to Kauṭilya (or Kauṭalya), the astute minister of Chandragupta Maurya (late fourth century B.C.), is accepted in the received form of the text as genuinely his production and little attention, let alone respect, is given to the arguments and opinions of scholars who view it as a reworking of about the third century A.D. The point is important for its relevance to the discussion of Mauryan institutions. Much less dogmatically, and perhaps rightly, the work accepts the Kushana emperor Kanishka as the inaugurator of the Śaka era of A.D. 78 rather than as ruling some fifty years later. This, of course, affects a good deal of chronology. Throughout the various discussions of law and social practices and institutions a reader may have an uneasy feeling that in this complicated and not well-documented field, undue, and sometimes uncritical, reliance is put upon the various codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and other law codifiers, and the similar sections of the epic Mahabharata as representing actual practice and not enough allowance is made for their character as Brahmanic idealizations.

Such considerations, and others that could be cited, should not be overstressed to obscure the many merits of this great work. It gives us a conscientious and balanced accounting of the large mass of inscriptional, numismatic, and other data on this period, which has been accumulating for more than a century. It puts into a single volume and correlates what we know about the life of civilized man in India and Ceylon in his many kinds of activities at that time. The problems are almost invariably laid before the reader, who thus is warned when conclusions are only tentative. The expense of producing a volume such as this is very great, and it is to be hoped that funds will be available to publish the other eleven contemplated in the whole work.

University of Pennsylvania W. Norman Brown

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America

CENTURY OF STRUGGLE: THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Eleanor Flexner.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 384. $6.00.)

SINCE Arthur M. Schlesinger pointed more than thirty years ago to "the silence of the historians" regarding the struggle of American women for "larger rights and opportunities," a number of biographies and special studies have appeared in this neglected area, but Miss Flexner is the first to produce a work that is both comprehensive and objective. Ambitiously including within her scope the entire period of American history to 1920, she has competently distilled the salient facts from a wealth of material to fashion a compact, concisely written account.

After surveying woman's position in the colonial and revolutionary periods, the author recounts the first steps to achieve equal education and to organize a woman's rights movement. The latter was discontinued during the Civil War, but other beginnings developed steadily. Thousands of women were moving away from "stove and laundry tub" to paid employment, while many others were gaining valuable organizational experience in reform societies, in war relief work, and in helping push through the Thirteenth Amendment. Through the remainder of the book the author gives attention periodically to the development of organization among woman workers and to the appearance of social welfare organizations among middle-class women, to changes in the status of women as they slowly climbed the ladder in jobs and won admission to the professions, and to the position of the Negro woman in comparison with that of her white sister. Her major concern, however, is with the emergence and development of the woman suffrage movement. Indeed, she devotes almost a quarter of the book to the twelve years immediately preceding the winning of the Nineteenth Amendment. This lack of proportion she justifies on the ground that historians have given even less attention to this important period in the struggle for woman's rights than to earlier phases. Another justification may be found in the fact that Miss Flexner gives an excellent and unbiased account of this final battle. It is interesting to see how the women succeeded despite the determined opposition of political machines and the liquor, brewing, industrial, and business interests, and despite their own internal divisions and the rival techniques of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman's party. Having carried the Nineteenth Amendment through to ratification, the author concludes with a brief statement of the outcome to date. Some of the promised as well as the threatened events, she comments, have failed to materialize. The controversial question now is whether or not continued discriminations in earnings and employment "can best be overcome by statute."

As the daughter of a woman who marched in the New York suffrage parades,

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Miss Flexner is understandably sympathetic to the efforts of women to increase their opportunities and responsibilities; yet she is objective in handling her material. She merits praise, too, for organization. In skillfully weaving together the threads of the different phases of development, she brightens her pattern frequently with sketches of the leaders in the various fields. The result is a nicely integrated story that moves along smoothly. As for sources, the bibliographical summary gives evidence that the author has surveyed many manuscript materials, but the backnotes reveal emphasis upon published sources. She explains that it would be impossible to write an account on such a scale "entirely from primary sources."

The author has regarded the work of such organizations as the AAUW to broaden intellectual horizons and advance the status of women as beyond her scope, and other aspects of the subject are necessarily touched on only briefly. It is to be hoped that this excellent survey will inspire studies in special areas of the topic.

Washington, D. C. MARY R. DEARING

MAN OF REASON: THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE. By *Alfred Owen Aldridge.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. c. 1959. Pp. 348. $6.00.)

IN 1781 Franklin's daughter, Sarah Bache, told her father that Thomas Paine should have "died at the instant he had finished his Common Sense, for he never again will have it in his power to leave the World with so much credit." The remark is cruel, but grounded on a clever woman's intuition. Paine never again rose to the level of his first performance. This is not surprising. The puzzle, rather, is that, suffering from a multitude of disabilities, he achieved even one literary *coup de foudre.* The portrait that emerges from these pages shows him to have been dirty, slothful, boorish, and unduly addicted to drink; pretentious, boastful, bullying, and a dropper of names; untrustworthy, dishonest, lying, and ignorant. He was proud of having read no books but his own. He was a propagandist, and the explanation of his initial brilliant success must lie in the realm of historical accident: a chance concatenation of circumstances that provided the maximum opportunity and challenge for Paine's restricted talents.

The bustle and turmoil of revolution provided his element. His wit did not favor the rapier, preferring rather the mallet and flail. He pursued his enemies—real and imagined—with the savagery of the *Jacquerie.* He lacked nobility of spirit. His mind was his church, he claimed; it was also his country, for his only loyalty was to himself. Was he freedom's champion or its camp follower? Much of the evidence in this book would support the latter reading of his character, although Professor Aldridge prefers the former.

To establish his position, the author makes massive use of direct quotations, but the absence of footnotes and bibliography makes it difficult to gauge the

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quality of the sources. The overwhelming and essentially uncritical reliance upon Paine's own writings indicates no great balance of selection. Too often judgments of men and actions are accepted directly from Paine, whose ex parte evidence the author does not choose to confront with contradictory (and eminently respectable) accounts.

There are stylistic shortcomings. Matters of importance are obscured by needless introduction of trivia. Minor characters in the narrative are inadequately identified. Generalizations are couched in vague terms and unsubstantiated by data. The mastery of the period is incomplete. Small inaccuracies are so numerous that no attempt will be made to list them here. Taken individually, they are not, perhaps, of prime importance. Collectively, they indicate a looseness of treatment that gravely weakens the whole work.

Aldridge finally pleads that the justification of Paine's life lies in the subsequent triumph of his concepts of freedom and democracy. Those concepts were not Paine's inventions; and the glory of their triumph belongs to better men than the pamphleteer whose democratic sensibilities could accept the Directory, and who broke with Napoleon because the First Consul insulted him at a public dinner.

Kenyon College CHARLES R. RITCHESON

THE ADAMS–JEFFERSON LETTERS: THE COMPLETE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THOMAS JEFFERSON AND ABIGAIL AND JOHN ADAMS. In two volumes. Volume I, 1777–1804; Volume II, 1812–1826. Edited by *Lester J. Cappon*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. c. 1959. Pp. li, 282; viii, 283–638. $12.50 the set.)

THE correspondence between these two famed "Argonauts" of American nationhood has long been of interest to their fellow citizens. In 1815 Jefferson lamented that "our correspondence has been observed at the post offices" and that "a printer has had the effrontery to propose to me the letting him publish it." In 1822 Adams expressed the hope that "one day your letters will be all published in volumes." In 1925 Paul Wilstach issued a small volume of extracts covering the years following the reconciliation effected through the efforts of Benjamin Rush. The entire corpus is now presented in full for the first time, edited with scholarly care, and enriched by inclusion of letters between Abigail Adams and Jefferson.

This commendable project of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg has been afoot since 1948. Donald H. Mugridge and Lyman H. Butterfield preceded the present editor, who took over in 1956. Progress of the publication of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* made it possible to

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simplify the editorial apparatus of the present volumes. But even after the monumental Jefferson and Adams projects now under way shall have been completed, the present work will remain useful as a convenient compilation in which valuable and interesting material is concentrated; just as casebooks on particular legal subjects are needed by law students and practitioners notwithstanding the availability of hundreds of volumes of court reports containing the full text of the judicial decisions utilized by the casebook editors.

The letters are grouped into appropriate chapters, the titles of which are striking phrases quoted from the correspondence, and each of which is preceded by an introductory summary by the editor, distinguished typographically from the text commented upon. Most of the first volume, which covers the period 1777–1804, consists of letters exchanged while the two statesmen were serving abroad as diplomats. Less than ten pages contain letters prior to 1784, when Jefferson left for Europe to join Adams in negotiating commercial treaties. Less than forty pages cover the period following Jefferson's return to America in 1789.

The second volume begins in 1812 following the reconciliation effected by Rush. The frequency of writing falls off during the last three years of the former Presidents' lives; there are only three letters in 1824, eight in 1825, and three in 1826. Particularly up through 1817 the interchange is marked by long and lively letters, treating a vast variety of intellectual concerns. Adams was a voracious reader, while Jefferson spent more time at the writing table, diligently returning a civil answer to the multitude of correspondents, mostly strangers, who burdened him "with their concerns, their pursuits, their projects, inventions and speculations, political, moral, religious, mechanical, historical etc. etc. etc." Adams more often neglected his mail, or gave "gruff, short, unintelligible" answers.

Political matters occupied a prominent place in the correspondence. In that connection the views of Adams and Jefferson on "natural aristocracy" are of particular interest. Another frequent theme was religion. Jefferson sent to Adams his syllabus on the doctrine of Jesus, which had been prepared at the request of Benjamin Rush. Adams, after lifelong study of "ecclesiastical establishments and theological theories" of divers civilizations, concluded that only God can understand the universe and that "It would be Presumption and Impiety in me to dogmatize, on such Subjects." Answering for himself a question that he frequently raised, Adams expressed his decided opinion "that a free government and the Roman Catholick religion can never exist together in any nation or Country."

As a minor criticism it may be noted that the English translations of foreign expressions used in the correspondence are sometimes inaccurate.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania EDWARD DUMBAULD

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THE CONGRESS FOUNDS THE NAVY, 1787–1798. By *Marshall Smelser.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 229. $5.00.)

THE Constitution of 1789 gave Congress power "to provide and maintain a Navy," but neither the First Congress nor the Second did so. The United States was practically at war with Algiers. The wars of the French Revolution broke out and spread to the Atlantic and Caribbean. In 1794 Congress finally appropriated money to build six frigates. The executive branch decided to construct experimental super frigates out of rare south coast live oak. Peace with Algiers and the Jay arrangement with Britain came before any ship left the ways. Congress cut back the original authorization but reluctantly voted extra money to complete the *United States, Constellation,* and *Constitution.* In the "quasi-war" with France that soon erupted, appropriations were made for more frigates; some thirty-six smaller vessels were built or bought; and much was spent on ordnance and stores. In the executive branch the War Department was split and a separate Department of the Navy created. By 1798 the United States had a fleet, the rudiments of an arms industry, and disunification to boot.

This example of national progress has been narrated before, notably by C. O. Paullin and Harold and Margaret Sprout. Marshall Smelser acknowledges this fact. A Notre Dame professor, formerly a Forrestal Fellow at Annapolis, he explains in an introduction somewhat saltier than the text: "My contribution has been to steer the same headings and to survey every rock, shoal, islet, and shore line they sighted, and to describe the results on a detailed chart."

Actually, he has done more than that. Most earlier writers were men in uniform who thought the logic of preparedness self-evident and any contrary attitude at least wrongheaded. Even the Sprouts took sides. But Smelser has succeeded in setting forth both cases. He not only shows the arguments for a navy but also the heartfelt convictions of those who thought it expensive, provocative, and potentially dangerous. As almost anyone must, he concludes that Federalist navalists saw reality better than their opponents. "The head says their naval policy was the correct one," he writes, "but the heart secretly admires many of the effective strokes of the anti-naval bloc."

Smelser has probed little beneath the rhetoric of the issue. His method is to explain the point in debate and then proceed step by step through the contentions and rebuttals that came into play. He describes divisions in Congress as roughly North *vs.* South. In so far as he generalizes further, he relies on Eugene P. Link's *Democratic-Republican Societies* and Manning J. Dauer's *Adams Federalists.* But his monograph is on a limited subject. One of his findings is that Congress and the press treated preparedness as a secondary issue. And not every historian has to be his own sociologist. Smelser has studied a not insignificant political debate and written about it with understanding and scrupulous fairness.

Harvard University ERNEST R. MAY

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THE URBAN FRONTIER: THE RISE OF WESTERN CITIES, 1790–1830. By *Richard C. Wade.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 41.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. 362. $6.00.)

Richard C. Wade has produced an interesting and instructive account of the rise of five western cities—Pittsburgh, Lexington, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. His narrative is generally straightforward and free of dogmatism and error. Its strongest point is his comparison of the respective urban histories with emphasis upon social and cultural progress. The weakest point in the volume is the bibliographical note of two and one-half pages in which the author discusses classes of material but does not cite any references. This is unfortunate for the study is based upon extensive research.

The founding in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the early growth of the five western cities to 1815 are discussed in the first part of the volume. Although the author includes other factors that produced growth, such as manufacturing and immigration, he believes that these new urban centers experienced rapid growth chiefly because of their transportation advantages. Consequently the dividing point in his narrative, 1815, not the depression of 1819, was chosen because it marked the successful use of the steamboat on the Ohio-Mississippi River system. The second part of the volume covers the fifteen years after 1815. Lexington, an inland city, was something of an exception, for steamboats aided its rivals to recover after 1819 while doing nothing to stimulate its own revival.

Early progress toward the paving and clearing of streets, the provision of police and fire protection, the formation of water supplies, and the improvement of health conditions was interrupted by the depression in 1819. By the middle twenties, enlarged spending had restored these services and by 1830 city administrations had come to grips with their most pressing problems in these fields. Educational institutions, churches, Sunday schools, and in some instances theaters, museums, and libraries had been founded and sometimes had developed noticeable strength.

A few errors are perhaps not minor in a study of this type. The Monongahela Valley is not incredibly rich in iron although it has extensive coal deposits. The Battle of Blue Licks did not insure Lexington's orderly development but was a "bloody defeat" of the pioneers. To classify all cultural leaders as "urban products" is to draw too sharp a line between rural and urban in a day when these small towns were only slightly less rural than the country itself.

This study will take its place in the historical literature describing the urbanization of the United States.

Indiana University John D. Barnhart

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THE PAPERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN. Volume I, 1801–1817. Edited by *Robert L. Meriwether*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society. 1959. Pp. xlii, 469. $10.00.)

THIS volume is the capstone of the scholarly career of the late Robert L. Meriwether, who died in 1958 when the book was in galleys. It is an accurately edited documentary record of John C. Calhoun's life, which carries him into his thirty-sixth year. Probably the expression "accurately edited" fails to do full justice to Meriwether's work, for the standards represented on his pages are high. First-rate judgments are mirrored in the introduction, in the short essay on editorial procedure, in the inclusion of significant congressional reports that were not wholly products of Calhoun's mind and pen, and in the sensible decision to omit certain minor Calhoun papers. Items not reproduced in full are either listed or summarized in a nine-page calendar, which is followed by a clarifying genealogical table, a bibliography, and an excellent index. The separate indexing of this and each subsequent volume should make searchers especially happy, pending completion of the set.

The absence of pre-1801 documents is regrettable but by no means unusual in the case of an American born in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. (The earliest known Zachary Taylor manuscript was composed when Taylor was twenty-three, and the first Henry Clay letter dates from 1798 when Clay was twenty-one.) Would that we had Calhoun correspondence reflecting the thoughts and aspirations of the boy of ten or twelve and the adolescent of fifteen or sixteen! If such fugitive material exists, it escaped Meriwether's vigilant eye. More surprising, except to students familiar with Charles M. Wiltse's Calhoun biography, is the dearth of somewhat later letters addressed to political associates, friends, and all but one relative. If Mrs. Floride Bonneau Colhoun [*sic*] had not saved thirty-odd communications from the youthful lawyer-statesman, who in 1811 became her son-in-law, our knowledge of his private life in this period would be still more fragmentary.

Scholars less interested in Calhoun's personality than in the politics of the times will attach particular value to the congressional speeches, reports, resolutions, and debates collected in this volume. True, many of them have been printed previously, but in questionable form and without Meriwether's illuminating comments. Now the reader is able to analyze conveniently and to understand clearly military, monetary, and other nuances. Although the system of notation may be regarded as rather unorthodox in Princeton and Lexington, it certainly is acceptable and intelligible. The total number of reproduced items is small—159 compared with some twelve hundred in the first volume of *The Papers of Henry Clay*. This part of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun,* however, reaches its conclusion at a line of demarcation sharply dividing two major stages of a politician's rise. Assuredly, there would have been no virtue in covering a few more

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years for the sake of a quantitative achievement, natural in another book but artificial in this one.

It is encouraging to learn that Meriwether's death is unlikely to jeopardize the continuation of the project so dear to his heart. Under a new editor's guidance perhaps as many as fourteen future Calhoun volumes may be anticipated. To be published during the same time that the Jefferson, Franklin, Clay, Madison, and Hamilton papers will also appear, they should underscore the influence of a leader and thinker who—at the age of twenty-nine—was hailed by a Virginia journalist as "one of those master spirits, who stamp their name upon the age in which they live."

University of Kentucky HOLMAN HAMILTON

THE ORDEAL OF THE UNION (Volume V). THE WAR FOR THE UNION. Volume I, THE IMPROVISED WAR, 1861–1862. By *Allan Nevins.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. c. 1959. Pp. x, 436. $7.50.)

THREE-QUARTERS of a century ago there was a significant concentration of events in the realm of American historiography. The records of the Civil War had reached a convenient point of mobilization and a historian of talent and means, equipped with the new "scientific" methodology, undertook to use them. James Ford Rhodes projected in the 1880's a series of seven volumes, *A History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850,* to carry the story at least to 1877. In due course the task was accomplished and acclaimed. But as the decades passed there developed a cumulative sense that this was not the definitive, "scientific" work that its author had believed it would be. It was neither objective nor comprehensive. Some twenty years ago Allan Nevins undertook to restudy the field. He projected a series of ten volumes to be known as *The Ordeal of the Union* beginning in 1847 to continue into the Grant regime.

The first four volumes dealing with the ante bellum years have now been followed by the fifth of the series covering the first year of the clash of arms. It is neatly organized around the central theme that it was a year of improvisation, marked by a colossal succession of blunders. But from these disasters, the North discovered the organization and cooperation that were not only to win the war but to change the national character. It is one of Nevins' cardinal points that the nation acquired its skill in large-scale organization from the magnitude of the war effort. Featured in these pages are a number of notable word pictures of the leading figures who were prominent in the military and civil phases of the struggle.

A comparison of Rhodes's and Nevins' works reveals significant similarities. Their basic philosophy of interpretation is much the same. They both lay down the same basic premise upon which to erect the structure of their work. Rhodes put it bluntly, "slavery was the sole cause of the war," while Nevins characterizes

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it as "a struggle concerning an institution which the moral impulses of the age pronounced a blot on the national shield." To Rhodes the South was "wrong and unreasonable." Nevins has much the same concept when he gives judgment that "a dominant body of Southerners stubbornly insisted on dealing with slavery and race relations only in their own way and at their own pleasure." In fact Nevins is not impressed with much of the work of southern apologists which has been a feature of American historiography of the past twenty years. One of the phases of this writing he characterizes as having the "presumed purpose of comforting sensitive Southerners."

This similarity between Rhodes and Nevins can be further noted in their treatment of the initial step, the firing on Sumter. To Rhodes it was a great blunder on the part of the South. While to Nevins "the callousness evinced in Montgomery's rush into battle is especially discreditable," particularly as the final decision of the Confederacy, taken hastily, placed it in "the power of Beauregard . . . and two impetuous aides to start the bloodiest war of the century." To both of them Lincoln is the great figure, and Nevins introduces new material which gives a clearer view of his difficulties and his genius.

Despite this qualified similarity of basic interpretation the two authors are in many other respects poles apart. Nevins has had the benefit not only of a great amount of historical data, unavailable to Rhodes, but he has the outlook of a twentieth-century historian. History to him is much more variegated and complex. Motives are no longer simple, and some of Nevins' best writing is devoted to a skillful presentation of the manifold complexities of the forces at work.

Nevins sees the conflict in its world significance, not bound by the provincial outlook that circumscribed Rhodes's vision in the 1890's. The war was an episode in the struggle of liberalism against autocracy. It was a peoples' war made notable by the fact that it was fought by two sections of a vast society motivated by ideas and behavior patterns that were basically almost identical. Nevins adds much that Rhodes probably never thought of in the way of administrative history. There is an effective treatment of the problem of securing arms and improving fire power and a discussion of the economic and social resources available to the North and the problems of their mobilization.

The sharpest difference between the two historians is on a basic question. When northern annalists began their assessment of the conflict much stress was laid on the existence of a "Great Conspiracy." It was charged that southern leaders, certainly as early as 1858 if not before then, had begun planning a revolution. Rhodes discounted heavily this idea of conspiracy and discarded it. Nevins, however, makes it as one of his basic points. "A group of leaders, in a carefully planned conspiracy took steps which first split the Democratic party and so ensured Lincoln's election, and which then used his election to inspire Southern secession. . . . A squalid conspiracy had turned natural Southern aspirations and apprehensions to unnatural ends." I agree that there was concerted action to form

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a confederacy developed in Washington but I believe that its chief actors did not begin to play an efficient part until after the breakup of the Democratic conventions in the summer of 1860. The design to divide the party was to defeat Douglas and have the Senate elect Joe Lane rather than to create a confederacy. These people by and large were politicians not statesmen, and more attention should be paid to the politicians' way of behaving, involving as it does a preoccupation with expedients rather than with long-range, sweeping plans.

This comprehensive, carefully constructed, and well-written work will not be received without controversy. As the centennial of the War between the States approaches, thousands are giving thought to the old issues and preparing to engage in the old arguments. Nevins states his opinions plainly and without equivocation. He marches directly into two controversies about military leaders that will arouse attack and defense. His characterization of McClellan as "The General Who Would Not Dare" seems particularly careful and judicious, but the friends of McClellan will file vigorous dissents. His ardent defense of Frémont, which features interpretations largely at variance with the findings of most other students, will also stir controversy.

In his general interpretation of the struggle he is likewise forthright. He hands down a judgment against the wisdom and ethics of the South, at the same time exalting the bravery, the gallantry, and the capacity of the section. Likewise as he renders this judgment he has decided to concentrate his attention on the northern side of the war, and if this volume is a fair sample, much of what went on in the Confederacy will be omitted. As he clearly states, however, he has done this deliberately because his work is not a history of the war but of the United States during a much longer period, and furthermore "Southern historians have provided several admirable records." It is still too early to render any final judgment on the wisdom of this decision taken so deliberately. The work will undoubtedly be criticized also by those who do not believe in taking sides or in writing value judgments on the pages of history. But no one has yet indicated how any American can detach himself sufficiently from the cultural web in which he finds himself to step off into space and view the conflict with complete objectivity. Those who may cavil at Nevins' biases will undoubtedly have biases of their own, and so ad infinitum. Finally the question will be raised as to why it should be called a needless war. It may conceivably have been a necessary instrument in social evolution dictated by the nature of American society.

This volume is indeed part of a great work that will take its place among the classics in American historiography. It will supersede Rhodes but, save in reviving the conspiracy theory, will not alter the basic interpretation of the older work. Its great significance is that it is the comprehensive analysis that the twentieth century demands.

University of Pennsylvania Roy F. Nichols

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THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES: ARIZONA, COLORADO, NEW MEXICO, AND UTAH. By *Ray C. Colton.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. c. 1959. Pp. ix, 230. $5.00.)

Westerners like to think their area played an important part in the Civil War. It did, but not in terms of battles between the Blue and the Gray. During the entire conflict there was but one campaign of any consequence that saw the two sides locked in formal battle. Aside from that the West sat on the side lines for four years and watched from afar the ebb and flow of fighting east of the Mississippi River.

In an effort to take over the land lying between Texas and California, and, if possible, to tap the Rocky Mountain mineral frontier in behalf of the Confederate treasury, the southerners invaded the Southwest. The move took place in the summer of 1861 when Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor led his Texans into New Mexico. On August 1, Baylor proclaimed the Confederate territory of Arizona, a land that extended from Texas to California and northward to the thirty-fourth parallel. Early in 1862 Confederate forces led by Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley pushed north, taking Albuquerque and Santa Fe. At that juncture a group of Colorado volunteers left Denver to reinforce General E. R. S. Canby's regulars who were slowly retreating toward Colorado. Near the end of March a battle was fought at Glorieta Pass, about twenty miles from Santa Fe, in which the Confederates were defeated. The "Gettysburg of the West," as it has been called, stopped the invasion and sent the southerners back into Texas. They did not return.

The invasion of New Mexico and its aftermath occupy most of the pages of Colton's book. Very little is said about military activities in the other three territories mentioned in the title for the simple reason that almost nothing happened. He devotes a chapter to Indian campaigns during the war years but such skirmishes were normal both before and after that era and they had little or no effect upon the outcome of the larger war. A chapter called "Political Developments," listed territory by territory, catalogues "home front" events. It amounts only to an appendage to the main story, and merely demonstrates the organizational problem the author faced in trying to write his book.

It is difficult to say that the Colton book provides students of either the Civil War or of the American frontier with very much that is new. William Clark Whitford's book, written over fifty years ago, still is the basis for most accounts of the New Mexican campaign. Robert Lee Kerby, *The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico and Arizona, 1861–1862* (1958), retraces Whitford's steps. Colton merely enlarges slightly on both of these. This latest effort, based upon published sources, appeared in print just a few weeks too early for the author to have used Max Heyman's recent biography of General Canby, which contains a chapter on the invasion of New Mexico.

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There is need for a good study of the trans-Mississippi West during the Civil War. A number of significant events took place in the area during those years that were war related, were of great significance later on, and were historically important. Colton's book provides an adequate treatment of the military aspects in a portion of that region.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

AMERICAN BUSINESS CYCLES, 1865–1897. By *Rendigs Fels*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1959. Pp. 244. $6.00.)

HISTORIANS of the post-Civil War years, like those of other American periods, have generally shied away from any deep attempt to explain the alternations of panic and prosperity. If they have thought it desirable to advance beyond conventional statements, they have relied upon Willard Thorp's *Business Annals* and upon the articles by Samuel Rezneck on individual panics. Both these sources appeal to historians, for they rely upon what historians regard as historical evidence and they are written in straightforward English. Neither author, however, undertakes to explain the whys and the wherefores. If the historian wishes to venture further into the literature on business cycles, he is confronted by an immense controversial and complex body of writing. Some twenty years ago Gottfried Haberler in *Prosperity and Depression* tried to come to the rescue. He arrived at the comforting conclusion that the various business cycle theories were not as contradictory as they seemed. Haberler's book nonetheless was in itself complex, and the author failed to lead his readers to any explicit explanations. Does the present volume make more available for historians the contributions of cycle theory? On some counts the answer is in the affirmative. About a third of the book is devoted to methodology and theory. Particular, though not exclusive, attention is paid to the theories of Schumpeter, John R. Hicks, and R. C. Gordon. There is a considerable attention to long waves as well as short-term fluctuations and to the role of investment. The reader learns not only when downturns or upturns occurred but also why. Nonetheless the historian may well emerge from the volume with his skepticism about cycle theory unshaken. Though no enigmatic equations perplex, an adequate definition of words and concepts—"equilibrator," "accelerator," and "multiplier"—not necessarily known to those outside the club, is lacking. There are occasional verbal infelicities: "I believe on the contrary that the bottlenecks were stabilizing." Faith in the scientific nature of cycle models is further shaken when one learns that certain phenomena were due to "coincidence" and that "exogenous" factors like war, government policy, the abundance of crops, all outside the system, frequently play decisive roles. Our old, friendly variables, business "confidence" and "pessimism," also float about in the analysis.

The second two-thirds of the volume consists of discussions of particularized cycles. In these the flush of historical reality tinges the pallid countenance of

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theory. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* and the *Bankers' Magazine,* as well as specialized studies, provide the documentation. Since theory still travels along, it is easier to read the excellent summaries first and then go back into the supporting chapters. In a general way, Fels gives events and investments in the railroad world the chief role; he believes monetary factors were of secondary significance. The author concludes that though modifications in Schumpeter's theory are desirable, the "theory applicable to this study is basically Schumpeterian." Historians who have read earlier in the volume "that it is not surprising that facts of this period seem to bear Schumpeter out, for his theory was deliberately designed to fit history, particularly the history of the railroad era" will take heart. It would be a pity if their self-satisfaction should lead them to neglect this book. Though the areas of ignorance about the causes of economic fluctuations are still very great, this volume shows how much cycle theory has advanced since Haberler and how much more useful for the historian it already is.

Thetford, Vermont EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON: APOSTLE OF CULTURE IN A DEMOCRACY. By *Kermit Vanderbilt.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 286. $5.50.)

PROFESSOR Vanderbilt has here written the first full-length biography of Charles Eliot Norton, who in 1874—at the age of forty-seven—put Harvard on the road to discovering the fine arts. A self-taught scholar with imagination enough to recognize the great unexplored territory of art history (and with Yankee wealth enough to explore it), Norton emerges in this competent, sympathetic study as an example of early American scholarship at its best, as one of those dedicated pioneers who helped to mature and give purpose to a provincial college becoming a great university.

Norton was not only a professor of fine arts; he was a Dante scholar, a friend of leading contemporary writers in England and America, a successful journalist, and an accomplished literary executor. Vanderbilt finds a unity for this varied career in Norton's role as a critic of American life. For at all times Norton was a critic—a humane skeptic who tried to preserve the old gentlemanly ideal in an America corrupted by new wealth. And at all times he was engaged in the challenging business of consummating in the United States a marriage between democracy and culture. If this task kept Norton torn between hope and despair, surely it is not to be wondered at.

As a spokesman for "taste" in a madly scrambling world, Norton may never have made altogether clear the basis of his own aesthetics, but there is an inkling as to his popularity as a teacher (he was also lax) in the fact that "not pleasure in artistic form and method, but the sterner lesson of character was what Norton stressed in his art history classes." This emphasis served the purposes of the old

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prescholarly collegiate way (and therefore made Norton an ideal transitional figure in the growth of the university), but it also made at least one Harvard classroom successfully competitive with the football field, where coaches were assuming a new responsibility for character training.

This is a compact biography, successful in its major purpose of rescuing Norton both from oblivion and misunderstanding. As the study of an important figure in the emergence of American scholarship, it invites—but does not itself indulge in—speculation on those qualities of character and environment that encouraged the ascendancy of learning in post-Civil War Cambridge. One should have expected here some treatment of the relationship of Norton's work at Harvard to the study of art history elsewhere and, as well, to the development of the "culture course" epithet that became so damaging to the liberal arts. The disappointments in this book are, however, few; it makes a solid contribution to our growing picture of the intellectual in America.

Williams College FREDERICK RUDOLPH

HISTORY AS ROMANTIC ART: BANCROFT, PRESCOTT, MOTLEY, AND PARKMAN. By *David Levin*. [Stanford Studies in Language and Literature, Number 20.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 260. $5.50.)

A FORMER generation filled the pages of this *Review* and other periodicals in heated controversy over the question: Is history a science or an art? In our own time the problem apparently has been resolved by following traditional "scientific" research, and presenting the results in as artistic a narrative as an author can command. The writers who are the subject of Mr. Levin's volume, though choosing themes usually different from those selected by their successors, were the real progenitors of this school of history in America.

Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, New Englanders all and Harvard-bred, viewed the past from a common vantage point. In their volumes they express "enthusiasm" toward the past, a warm regard for the heroic, and an attachment to the "natural." The thread of history, as they unraveled it, led inevitably to the America of their own nineteenth century. It was the grand climax in the development of the Western world from the initial impulse generated by the Reformation.

Levin has divided his thoughtful and well-written book into three parts. The first two attempt "to combine literary and intellectual history with literary criticism." His chief aim is to examine the themes, characters, and language common to the histories. For this purpose he has made, in his third section, a close study of Prescott's *The Conquest of Mexico,* Motley's *The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* and Parkman's masterpiece *Montcalm and Wolfe.*

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The historians under discussion all started with the assumption that they belonged to the romantic school of letters. To re-create the past required a vivid imagination, dramatic presentation, and skilled literary artistry. Along with entertainment the reader was to be enlightened. He was to be taught that the procession of human progress was from east to west, reaching its culmination in North America, where a virile, free society energetically advanced economic and social organization. Progress led to popular liberty, and its safest guardians were the middle class.

Heroes and heroines were required to possess warm emotions, a delicate sensibility, and loftiness of character to sustain their suffering. A superior racial strain, it was said, derived from Gothic ancestry, for this was the people who were predisposed to progress and liberty. To advance the latter the New England historians were hostile to authoritarianism and clericalism, which they generally identified with Roman Catholicism. Intellectual and political liberty flourished better in the climate of Protestantism.

Levin is at his best in his analysis of the style of his historians. Though noting their defects his final estimate is one of high praise for their achievement. While he denies to Parkman distinction for great prose (a mistake, I think), he credits him with "the most completely successful of all the romantic histories." In his claim that these historians were "not on the periphery of the American Renaissance" but rather at the core "of romantic thought in America," Levin is on firm ground. Other scholars have dealt with various aspects of romantic historiography in America but no one else has written on this subject so acutely and with such broad comprehension.

City College of New York MICHAEL KRAUS

IN THE DAYS OF McKINLEY. By *Margaret Leech*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. viii, 686. $7.50.)

"No more backbone than a chocolate éclair," "backbone of a jellyfish," "spineless," "a postage-stamp President," "a good, dull man," "a tool of the vested interests." These and similar epithets have long been used in describing William McKinley, twenty-fifth President of the United States. And standard histories and textbooks have customarily dismissed the McKinley administration as an ignominious remnant of the nineteenth century in their eagerness to describe the stirring events of the Roosevelt era. Most historians seem to have accepted John Hay's observation that McKinley wore a mask, "a genuine Italian ecclesiastical face of the xvth century," and they have not troubled themselves even to look at the face behind it.

Miss Leech, known for her colorful picture of Civil War days in Washington, has in this book rejected trite phrases and unmasked the man McKinley. Never

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before has so much been revealed about the bland, cautious, unctuous, often vacillating politician from Ohio. Olcott's "standard" biography is based on many firsthand sources but is excessively eulogistic; Porter's campaign biography is incomplete; the journalistic memorial volumes of 1901 are worthless; Spielman's little volume adds nothing that is new; and Dawes's *Journal of the McKinley Years* is, of course, not a biography. Now at last we have a clear, sympathetic portrait, and one that is essentially accurate. McKinley becomes a man who lived and breathed, a man of stubborn determination, patient, with an understanding of other people and their problems, yet lacking the aggressiveness and leadership that is necessary for a President of the first order. In giving us this new analysis of McKinley, Miss Leech has skillfully and artistically employed hitherto unused sources such as the McKinley papers and the Cortelyou diary.

But it should be promptly noted that this is not a full biography. Rather Miss Leech has chosen to review briefly the years up to 1897, except, of course, for the tragic domestic life of the McKinleys, which she seems to relish. Only a few short paragraphs are given to McKinley's Civil War service, and only a few pages to his congressional career and his terms as governor of Ohio. The famous election of 1896 is briefly sketched. And regrettably the chronology of these important stages in his career is confused and misleading. But from the selection of his cabinet to his tragic assassination, this is a comprehensive history of McKinley and his administration—indeed, almost too full. It might be observed that Miss Leech has told us more about certain aspects of the McKinley years than we care to know. The details of the canned beef fiasco, for example, seem unnecessarily extensive; the paragraphs describing the pathetic figure of Mrs. McKinley and her fits of epilepsy appear to go on endlessly. Furthermore, many readers will fret at the failure of the author to summarize, to digest the material she has so painstakingly assembled, and to outline clearly main trends and events. She is more at home when describing the McKinleys and domestic life in the White House than she is when portraying the major national events. Her book would have profited had she written in a simple direct style.

Despite the plethora of material on the years 1897 to 1901, there are serious omissions. Barely mentioned is the sensational battle between Hearst's *Journal* and Pulitzer's *World* which convinced many Americans that they should fight Spain to free Cuba. The activities of the international bimetalism commission are neglected, as is McKinley's vacillating handling of the civil service problem.

Students of the period will be disturbed at the awkward method of citing sources. Relegated to the rear of this thick volume, the sources and extensive notes are so compressed that it is cumbersome for the reader to associate statement with source.

Ohio State University EVERETT WALTERS

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EDISON: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Matthew Josephson.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 511. $6.95.)

A COMPETENT biography of Thomas Alva Edison has been needed for some time. Hundreds of articles, books, and pamphlets have been written about "the electrical wizard," but most of them were popular in style, distorted by myth and hero worship. Even the authorized biography by F. L. Dyer, T. C. Martin, and W. H. Meadowcroft (first edition 1910, revised edition 1929) was incomplete and uneven in value. Matthew Josephson has made an ambitious effort to set the record straight. The result is a biography that is dignified, detailed, and objective, sprinkled with moments of humor, pathos, and drama. It is obvious that the author is a student of American history, and he has taken pains to set the Edison story within the proper historical frame. The westward movement, problems of transportation and communication, the growing technology, the patent wars, and the great industrial movement are all fitted into the backdrop against which the major actor, Edison, plays out his long, complicated, and creative role.

From the broad panorama of Edison's career one fact stands out above all others: his passionate dedication to his main objective in life, which was to exploit his talents to hasten the advancement of commerce and industry. His pioneering laboratory at Menlo Park was set up and operated with the sole purpose of producing practical inventions that he thought the world needed. Contrary to the legend, Edison worked not alone, but with a team of mechanics, machinists, chemists, and physicists, many of them as dedicated to him as he was to his work. It seems obvious that the Edison laboratory was the prototype of the industrial research laboratories of a later day.

Many pages of the biography are devoted to the activities, experiments, disappointments, and triumphs associated with the major Edison inventions. A select list of these would include the quadruple, "one of the most important contributions to the telegraphic art," the mimeograph machine, a microphone, the phonograph, an industrial storage battery, an electric locomotive, dynamos, the motion picture machine, and along with the incandescent lamp an entire electrical system to be used in lighting communities. Edison's research methods were mainly empirical, but the results were rewarding not only to technology but to pure science as well. During the long period when he pondered the problems related to his electric system, he read files of scientific journals and scholarly proceedings, a research technique that was overlooked by critics who claimed that he was an uneducated mechanic. The story of the development of the incandescent bulb and the multiple circuit and generator to go with it indicates that Edison proceeded according to scientific methods as understood in the 1880's.

One of the chief virtues of this book is the care taken by the author to build up a realistic picture of Edison the man. In this way, Edison the legend is considerably modified, but the person of the inventor who emerges, etched against a

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background of fact, is more interesting and vital than the legendary figure steeped in half-truths and fanciful imagination. This new portrait is based on a solid foundation of rich and varied sources. Of these, the most important are the papers, notebooks, and documents in the Edison Laboratory Archives, used here for the first time.

Monmouth College F. Garvin Davenport

THE END OF AMERICAN INNOCENCE: A STUDY OF THE FIRST YEARS OF OUR OWN TIME, 1912–1917. By *Henry F. May.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1959. Pp. xv, 412, xvii. $5.75.)

A brief chapter of American intellectual history evidently got lost somewhere between the climax of progressivism and the crisis of the First World War. Drowned out by noisier events, its positive achievements were associated with an earlier or a later era and its destructive effects with the war or the disillusionment that followed. Most of its significant attributes have been identified in the popular mind as well as in academic thought with the twenties. Professor May's study undertakes to restore the lost identity of a period and establish for it the distinction claimed by a later epoch, that of being "the first years of our own time."

May has less difficulty establishing an end than in fixing a beginning to his period. April 1917 is an acceptable enough terminus, but 1912 is more arbitrary as a starting point, as the author's frequent backtracking into the previous decade would seem tacitly to admit. Even so, he finds good reasons for maintaining that the old order remained intact in 1912, even though its central doctrines had already been brought under fire. Those doctrines were the certainty of moral values, the inevitability of progress (especially in America), and the importance of traditional culture.

One of several significant contributions the book makes is a delineation of the traditional order against which the rebels revolted: its strongholds among the universities, publishing houses, and magazines; its outposts and frontiers in West and South; its "custodians of culture," Henry Van Dyke, Hamilton W. Mabie, William Lyon Phelps; and its "central donjon," the National Academy of Arts and Letters. The complacency, optimism, and outmoded assumptions of the day, as May says, "provided the rebels with an unparalleled collection of sitting ducks."

There were European antecedents, American forerunners since the nineties, and there was William James, "the man who came nearest bringing together the old and the new." Scoffers, doubters, and libertarians softened up resistance, and shock troops carried the Armory Show in 1913. The crest of the prewar wave of revolt was reached in 1915, the year "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" was published in *Poetry,* the Provincetown Players was established, *Spoon River Anthology* appeared, and Van Wyck Brooks's *America's Coming of Age* was published. By 1917 *The New Republic, Seven Arts, Masses,* and *The Little Review*

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were in full swing, Henry L. Mencken was in full cry, Alfred Stieglitz, Lincoln Steffens, Thorstein Veblen, Sherwood Anderson, Randolph Bourne, and Ezra Pound had done some of their most important work, and Eugene O'Neill, E. E. Cummings, and T. S. Eliot had been heard from.

May calls this chapter in our intellectual history "The Innocent Rebellion," and so it was. It had much in common with the order against which it revolted. He characterizes it as a "mixture of exuberant innovation, cheerful mysticism, insistent spontaneity, and certainty that everything was turning out superbly." There were exceptions, of course, and Henry Mencken, Henry Adams, and Thomas Stearns Eliot will not fit that mold. The author does not claim the revolt itself brought the end of American innocence, for it shared the absence of guilt and doubt that constituted the innocence of the old order. But he does maintain that the rebellion prepared the way for the profound change in taste, manners, morals, and ideas that took place after the war. In restoring this lost episode and securing its place in history, May has succeeded where historians of more conventional interests and preoccupations have erred or nodded.

Johns Hopkins University C. Vann Woodward

THE HERO: CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. By *Kenneth S. Davis*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1959. Pp. 527. $4.95.)

This is a biography which at the same time attempts to place its subject, Charles A. Lindbergh, within the framework of trends in recent history, and to interpret him in terms of the "American Dream" as his society perceived it. In thus setting himself a triple task within one book, Mr. Davis has not chosen a simple assignment. Lindbergh, as he points out in his preface, is first of all a complex and secret personality who does not readily lend himself to easy explanation. In addition, Lindbergh's career is in Davis' opinion "amazingly symptomatic of certain dominant moods in recent Western culture," and his life "a remarkably pure curve across the turbulence of our times." The biographer is concerned, then, not only with a biography of Lindbergh, but with how and why he was embraced by the American people as the embodiment of what their ideal should be, and also with the myth-making processes by which American society produces a hero. The book is therefore about Lindbergh as a man, as personification of recent social history, and as legendary epic protagonist, our nearest though temporary approach to an American Roland.

To write the life of a contemporary and controversial figure is always a risky business; to write one of Lindbergh, that curious combination of mystic and pragmatist, philosopher and adventurer, is doubly so. Approaching his subject in "a mood at once dispassionate and compassionate," the author sketches the picture of a serious, intelligent, introspective man who (in contrast to the public

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image of him) has spent most of his life not in sheer adventure but in search. The legend of "Lucky Lindy" dies hard, and perhaps will always maintain some life, but Davis destroys thoroughly the facile absolutes of the "flying fool" tradition that grew up around him. As those aware of Lindbergh's pre-Paris years have guessed, Davis finds that Lindbergh is best understood in terms of his Midwest background and his family setting. Study of Charles Lindbergh, Sr., himself a man of great integrity and individuality, goes far in explaining the career and character of his son. Similarly, as the author indicates, only the years of World War I and the twenties could have produced Lindbergh; only depression, New Deal, and World War II could have provided for him the milieu in which he could develop as he did.

At a time when men in gray flannel suits and gray neutral ideas are popular heroes, it is a trifle difficult to recall how powerfully "Lindy," the individualist, appealed to the imagination of his times. That he flew the ocean *alone,* it must not be forgotten, was the great fact about his feat. People demanded that he be a "Lone Eagle," neither a member of a team nor an organization man, and idolized him for his independence. In this, Davis concluded, he was indeed "America's exaltation." The other thread of the study, that of Lindbergh as hero, begins on this note, tracing the slow decline of his reputation from the popular idol who was worshipped with an ardor and a hysteria unequaled in American history to the lonely, distant figure of sorrow and isolation. Lindbergh did not and could not live up to what his era demanded of him (which is less a reflection on him than an ironic commentary on society's concept of heroism), and with a kind of tragic inevitability he withdrew from his age as it moved away from him. Among other things, Davis puts into perspective Lindbergh's relations with Alexis Carrel, his emerging political interests in the thirties, and his gradual development of a social philosophy that led him into an ambiguous affiliation with racism and nascent fascism. As a much-needed corrective against the lingering recollections that many have of the fading hero who finally stepped over the edge in his 1941 Des Moines speech, Davis provides in detail an interesting and unfamiliar account of Lindbergh's distinguished war services after Pearl Harbor.

This is not a clear and simple story, for neither the man nor the events it treats were thus. The author faced the difficult job of separating the man from the façade, the private from the public identity, coming to the inescapable conclusion that there are two Lindberghs, quite discrete. There is the one, completely unreal, compounded out of what the American people needed to believe about themselves, that Lindbergh provided; there is the other, a complicated, thoughtful, lonely man who groped for answers to deep and puzzling questions about himself and others. Davis has done this task extremely well. This is a superb piece of research, analysis, writing, and understanding—one that should be a strong contender for Pulitzer honors.

Michigan State University Russel B. Nye

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AFFECTIONATELY, F.D.R.: A SON'S STUDY OF A LONELY MAN. By *James Roosevelt* and *Sidney Shalett.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 394. $5.75.)

THE ROOSEVELT REVOLUTION. By *Mario Einaudi.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. c. 1959. Pp. x, 372. $5.95.)

THE spate of books about FDR flows on, and one publisher expresses his confidence in the market by issuing two in the same year. These will hardly compete with each other, however, for they are of separate genre. James Roosevelt (through Sidney Shalett) has recorded the memoir that seemed almost inevitable, and Mario Einaudi, a professor of government, has drawn a neatly reasoned interpretation of the New Deal's long-range impact.

The memoir is lively and sentimental. It is written, son James explains, as an "act of love," and it aims to illuminate the parent rather than the politician. The author speaks of not one, but "three fathers," and divides the narrative accordingly. He tells of the exuberant, athletic father before polio struck; the father of the convalescent period; and the father who was President. James feels that the Roosevelt children suffered from indulgence, inadequate counseling, and lack of discipline. He defends FDR, however, from the charge of neglect and expresses warm filial appreciation for the love and loyalty that radiated from his parents. He puts most of the blame for family troubles on Sara Delano Roosevelt, whom he calls "Granny" throughout the book.

This account is based on personal recollections and on papers and books previously published. Shalett, a journalist with experience in biographical midwifery, has provided a short bibliography and chapter source notes. The style is in acceptable good taste although the subject matter is sometimes embarrassingly trivial. Little substance is added to FDR's personal portrait, which has already taken shape in the memoirs of family and intimates. There are some new items, of course, and a number of details about James and his siblings. He admits that to some of them, "maturity came late—and hard." One cannot put down this book without feeling qualms about the society, philosophy, and education that fashioned the Roosevelt children.

A work of entirely different nature is *The Roosevelt Revolution.* Einaudi, Italian-born, has tried to view this subject from the perspective of Europe as well as America. While his approach is indeed suggestive, it leads to no surprising judgments. The precise function expected of this study is not entirely clear. It will hardly serve as a text, for the account is selective and incomplete. It is not a work of original research and contributes few novel ideas. It is best described as an interpretative essay on the New Deal's place in history. Einaudi sees FDR and his reforms largely in the light cast on them by Roosevelt himself. The twenty-year "revolution" (1932–1952) is seen as a democratic, humane, and wholesome transformation that succeeded in fortifying the fabric of the nation.

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What Roosevelt projected as inspired vision, Einaudi sets down as accomplished fact. In doing this, the author is restating the general view of active participants (like Tugwell, Perkins, and Rosenman) and of most historians of the New Deal (like Schlesinger, Rauch, and Greer). He takes issue with his fellow political scientist, James M. Burns, who discounts Roosevelt as a creative statesman. Einaudi regards FDR as the dynamic center of a multiplex reform operation—the "supreme democratic leader of our time."

The book includes a brief summary of the American scene during the twenties, the Great Depression, and the character of Roosevelt's response. It discusses his political and administrative innovations and the constitutional crisis of 1937. Einaudi centers attention upon the role of the Supreme Court, carrying his account through the era of McCarthyism and the integration cases. The chief criticism from a scholar's point of view is that the ideas developed rest upon a limited base of research. There is no bibliography or note on sources. It is apparent that the author has relied upon printed materials, and he has not fully exploited the available New Deal literature.

It may be the incompleteness of research that often leads the author to oversimplification and easy acceptance. He generalizes, for instance, upon the results of security market regulation, but shows little evidence of having made a thorough study of all sides of the situation. He takes Roosevelt's public statements at face value. A more critical attitude, with sharpened awareness of the contradictions and nuances in Roosevelt, could have grown out of deeper research.

As a general essay for readers who are unfamiliar with the New Deal and its significance, Einaudi's book is attractive and useful. In this sense, the prime test of its worth lies in the validity of the author's liberal-democratic premises. He concludes that Roosevelt succeeded in adapting free institutions to the new world of technology and collective process. He kept the door open so that Americans might "decide in liberty" upon the shape of their future. Precisely what this means in our manipulated, yet planless culture is left for the thoughtful reader to ponder.

Michigan State University THOMAS H. GREER

AMERIKAS DEUTSCHLANDPOLITIK IM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG: KRIEGS- UND FRIEDENSZIELE 1941–1945. By *Günter Moltmann*. [Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien, Heft 3.] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. 1958. Pp. 192. DM 18.)

THIS is a remarkable book. Remarkable for the spotlight it throws into some of the obscurer corners of a much-debated subject, for its utilization of materials, the breadth of its treatment, and the vigor of its attack on problems from which others have shied or on which they have stumbled. Perhaps most notable to many is that it is written by a German.

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The painstaking and perceptive character of the volume is particularly evident in its tracing of the background and evolution of decisions and policies. While cognizant of them, it resists any temptation to overstress the weaknesses of American leadership in wrestling with German problems: uncertainty, receptiveness to outworn clichés (such as the preoccupation with curbing "Prussia"), easy yielding to current moods and trends. To a degree to which many Americans would hesitate to subscribe, Moltmann accepts the decisive role of idealism in determining not only the general course but virtually each step in American policy. No other writer has gone farther to render justice to the motivations of our policy makers. Welles, Hull, Roosevelt, and Morgenthau are portrayed as dominated in their German planning by a determination to avoid the errors of 1918–1919. "Morgenthau's highest goal in intervening in the problem of Germany," he maintains, "was without a doubt the establishment of a lasting peace." Welles is credited with the same motive in pioneering proposals for the partition of Germany, as is Hull in urging execution without trial of Nazi leaders.

Perhaps Moltmann's largest single contribution is his penetrating discussion of the proposals to partition Germany. It has never been easy to understand how, after years of apparent unanimity favoring partition, the issue should evaporate so completely between Yalta and Potsdam. Why did Stalin, without consulting his allies, unilaterally reassure the German people in his victory proclamation? Apparently the Kremlin, confident that it could control the settlement in Poland and East Germany, now considered a unified Germany more vulnerable to its penetration than several small states satellite to the Western powers. Why did the British and Americans yield so easily? They had thus far rejected the weight of expert opinion, profoundly skeptical about partition. Yet it may have rendered them sufficiently uncertain to be disinclined to argue with Moscow. London was, in any event, becoming convinced that a German makeweight was needed in Central Europe against the forward thrust of the eastern colossus. The Americans yielded more reluctantly, slow to abandon the fundamental fallacy of their wartime planning for Germany, the illusion that her elimination as a power factor would smooth the road to a secure future.

One might quarrel mildly with the author's decision to give virtually no attention to the role of popular attitudes and opinions. The one omission that appears within the limits he has set himself would seem to be the American attitudes and policy toward the German opposition. Though wholly negative, this does seem to the reviewer to deserve some analysis. It is difficult, however, to find fault with a volume that is so great a credit to German postwar scholarship.

University of Minnesota HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

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A HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER: THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES 1940–1945. By *Ruth B. Russell.* Assisted by *Jeannette E. Muther.* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1958. Pp. xviii, 1140. $10.00.)

THIS is the most comprehensive history of the United Nations Charter to appear in the United States. It is a part of the magnum opus planned originally by the late Leo Pasvolsky and was intended to comprise several volumes on the principal aspects of the United Nations system. Fortunately the Brookings Institution carried through the original plan, and we now have most of the volumes that would probably have emerged from the scholarly direction of the one man most intimately involved in America's contribution to the drafting of the Charter.

What makes this volume especially useful is the original intent that the studies should assist in discussions about possible changes in the Charter anticipated in the light of Article 109. If the general conference for Charter revision is ever held, much essential research will already have been completed.

Comprehensive as this volume is in its treatment of the Charter's history, together with nearly one hundred pages of documents, it is limited to the development of the Charter as a part of United States foreign policy. The policies and actions of other nations are considered only as they bear upon those of the United States.

This history spans the development from the Atlantic Charter to the end of the war. It examines in detail the development of United States policy during the wartime United Nations coalition, the planning of postwar reconstruction, the Moscow, Cairo, and Tehran conferences, and background preparations for the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. A careful examination is made of emerging United States policy toward the principal elements of the Charter: enforcement of peace, peace settlement, economic, social, and human rights affairs, dependent peoples and matters relating to administration and finance, and the statute of the International Court of Justice. From here on attention focuses upon the adjustment of United States policy to the pressures of the other big three at Dumbarton Oaks, Malta, and Yalta and of domestic politics. Finally the preparations for San Francisco are examined in terms of basic foreign policy considerations as well as domestic political pressures. About a third of the book is devoted to negotiations at San Francisco on all the chapters of the Charter. There is a concluding study of the ratification process in the United States.

The *History of the United Nations Charter,* prepared with full access to records of the Department of State and to the voluminous notes and memoranda of Leo Pasvolsky and the Brookings Institution, is the first study of its kind, and it is likely to remain without a peer for many years to come. Lucidly and objectively written, it provides a basic reference on apparently all the important issues that were faced during the drafting stages. It is, therefore, a resource for scholarly

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and reportorial inquiries related to the actual functioning of the United Nations as well as for intelligent discussions regarding possible Charter revision. The Brookings series of which this volume is an essential part should be in every library that serves the needs of students, scholars, journalists, and intelligent leaders of public opinion.

Indiana University WALTER H. C. LAVES

JOHN DEWEY IN PERSPECTIVE. By *George R. Geiger*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 248. $5.50.)

THE perspective from which this book is written is that of a former student of Dewey's, who, with an eye to the centennial of his subject's birth, has set forth to defend Dewey against his critics and, if possible, to reinstate him in popular esteem. The book seems to have been written primarily for the general reader who has some awareness of recent happenings in philosophy, and only indirectly for the historian. Yet, despite its author's intentions, its overwhelming impression, to my mind, is historical. If the reviewer may be forgiven a little imagery, he feels as though he has been taken on a guided tour of an attic where the family has stored certain pictures which it is, for sentimental reasons, reluctant to dispose of, but which it is even more reluctant to display in the living room where they once were. Here are the familiar "John Dewey, the Philosopher of Experience," "Dewey, the Philosopher of Intelligence," and "Dewey as Scientific Humanist." During the course of Geiger's tour one may yawn at too much of the familiar, one may be irritated by his academic jokes, or one may be impressed by an occasional insight into his subject or by the judicious way in which he sometimes calls attention to neglected aspects of the master's work, to Dewey's concern with the immediate, noncognitive aspects of experience, or to his piety toward nature.

Certainly the book must have been a difficult one to write. First there was the problem of consistency within Dewey himself, a difficulty that is illustrated by Geiger's inability to decide whether Dewey was completely hostile toward the emotive theory of values. Then there was the problem of Dewey's critics. Geiger does well enough against those critics who are "obscurantists" or "dogmatists," but the case he makes against "traditional" philosophers is often no case at all. His statement, for example, that "Dewey challenges the traditional assumptions that experience is exhausted by the ubiquitous relation of knowing and that man knows simply by casting a vacant eye at the world, having little other communion with it" will cause many readers to wonder whether anyone has ever looked upon experience in this way and whether this "vacant eye" is Grecian or Lockean or simply a figment of Geiger's pragmatic imagination.

Geiger sometimes makes effective points against the narrowness of modern analytic philosophy and its refusal to consider the kinds of questions Dewey dealt

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with so extensively. He is also able to establish the historic truth that Dewey anticipated analytic philosophers such as Gilbert Ryle on certain points and that he did this without narrowing his frame of reference unduly. Geiger protests that in modern analytic philosophy things have reached such a low point that it is now possible for a man to write a book about ethics without coming to any moral conclusions. A regrettable state of affairs, perhaps, but in Dewey's day was it not possible to write book after book about the need for a "scientific" ethics without ever showing how values could be elicited from the descriptive sciences?

Where Dewey's vigorous, prolonged onslaughts against dualisms are concerned, Geiger points out that Dewey, like Whitehead, was trying to cut through divisions that appear to be ingrained in language itself, at least in Indo-European languages. Such efforts sometimes are the source of great systems or of significant innovations in philosophy, but in Dewey's case was not the result a great blurring instead? One need not respect "the logic of language" to the extent that some modern philosophers do in order to recognize that Dewey should have respected it more. Geiger appears at times to feel this, and he admits also to a certain thinness in Dewey's social philosophy. Beyond this, however, he seems strictly orthodox.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology BURLEIGH TAYLOR WILKINS

THE SUPREME COURT IN A FREE SOCIETY. By *Alpheus Thomas Mason* and *William M. Beaney*. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1959. Pp. vi, 346. $6.50.)

THIS excellent brief volume uses a topical-historical approach to analyze with extraordinary clarity and lucidity the major divisions of American constitutional law as developed by Supreme Court decisions. The authors begin with an affirmative commentary upon Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes's famous aphorism that "The Constitution is what the Judges say it is," and then take up in succession a variety of topics, among them judicial limits upon the power of Congress, the growth of the Court's ideas upon national supremacy and dual federalism, the commerce power, taxing and spending, substantive due process, the contract clause, equal protection, and the guarantees of the First Amendment.

The prevailing mood of the book is one of moderation and balance, a point of view that predominates in its treatment of the clash between the doctrines of national supremacy and dual federalism, the conflict between the "preferred position" and "bad tendency" doctrines on First Amendment freedoms, and the impact of the commerce clause upon state police power. There is little or nothing of the mood of intemperate partisanship or any "exposé" of the Court as a crass instrument of raw politics, which has characterized one or two other studies in the last few years. Instead, the point of view is essentially that of principled prag-

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matism, recognizing as valid the judicial attempts to adjust constitutional law to the realities of social and economic development.

Nonetheless, the authors obviously subscribe to Justice Frankfurter's theory of judicial self-restraint, and no doubt for this reason their sharpest shafts of criticism are directed at those occasions when the Court abandoned its role as interpreter of law and took upon itself the function of policy maker. Thus they believe that the revolution in due process consummated in 1890 made the Court "virtually a super-legislature," under which "judicial authority was elevated and economic-industrial oligarchy enthroned." They are openly sympathetic with Stone's celebrated dissenting observation in *United States* v. *Butler* that "Courts are not the only agencies of government that must be assumed to have the power to govern," and they strongly approve the Court's recent abandonment of "self-acquired preeminence" and its deliberate return to "the wisdom of the framers, to the judicial humility of Marshall, Waite, Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone."

The book ends with a sympathetic treatment of the Warren Court's boldness in defense of civil liberties, on the ground that "Judicial hands-off in economic matters is perfectly consistent with judicial activism to preserve the integrity and effective operation of the political process." "By precept and example," they conclude "the Court now, as in the past, is showing us what free government means."

Wayne State University ALFRED H. KELLY

BAROQUE TIMES IN OLD MEXICO: SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PERSONS, PLACES, AND PRACTICES. By *Irving A. Leonard.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. c. 1959. Pp. xi, 260. $6.50.)

IN recent years there has been a tendency to extend the conception of the Baroque in art to the whole complex of seventeenth-century social, economic, speculative, and literary activity. During March 1956 an exposition at Rome, under the title "The Seventeenth Century in Europe," attempted to demonstrate that there is an essential unity justifying the term the "Baroque Age." Professor Leonard now attempts the same feat for Mexico through a series of sketches of seventeenth-century Mexican personalities and literary life, interspersed with paragraphs and chapters of interpretation. His personalities include two archbishops admittedly remarkable in any age, Fray García Guerra and Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas; the notable poetess Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz; and the able writer and scholar Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. The sketches of literary life give brilliant and readable accounts of the extent of some of the best private libraries in Mexico, a poetic tournament in 1683, the theater in Mexico City, and seventeenth-century Mexican tastes in verse and oratory. Much of this material has been examined elsewhere by Leonard in initial scholarly presentation. The contribution of this book is to bring the material together in unusually readable form for the development of a thesis.

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That thesis would define the seventeenth century in Mexico as a period of doubt and anguish, manifesting an impassioned desire to reach the unknowable through mystical speculation; a period of narrowing intellectual horizons as state and Church, using the powerful machine of the Inquisition, imposed a neo-medieval scholasticism and the embattled orthodoxy of the Counter Reformation. It finds that Mexico in the seventeenth century developed a rigid class pattern, creating "a societal design nearly immune to the erosion of time and modernity." A dominant white stratum harshly exploited a proletarianized Indian mass through a system of latifundia and "the despotic control of the peasantry." Leonard would ascribe even the "planting of the seeds of *caciquismo,* or political boss rule" to the Baroque Age.

I find much to applaud and little to quarrel with as long as Leonard describes the cultural life of the Spanish in the colony. That was a small upper stratum living on a frontier far removed from the centers of literary, philosophical, and scientific innovation. His thesis is far less defensible, however, when he extends it to social and economic life. The development of the class pattern, large landed estates, and debt peonage was already well under way in the sixteenth century. If the first half of the seventeenth century in Mexico was a period of crisis in production, the second half witnessed a successful solution to much of the problem. Demographic evidence directly contradicts the assertion that debt peonage was harsher than exploitation within the Indian towns.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

LA TRATA DE NEGROS EN EL RÍO DE LA PLATA DURANTE EL SIGLO XVIII. By *Elena F. S. de Studer.* [Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani," Number 101.] (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1958. Pp. 378.)

THIS is a useful addition to our understanding of the slave trade in the river Plata area. Scholars in Argentina have paid little attention to the many ramifications of slavery and the slave trade in their part of South America. Apart from Diego Luis Molinari's introduction to *La Trata de Negros en el Río de la Plata,* which is Volume VII of *Documentos para la Historia Argentina,* little has been done with the subject. Though ostensibly limited to the eighteenth century the author delves into such subjects as Spanish institutions in the Indies, Spanish commercial policy in the colonies, the nature of the assiento, the origin of the trade, and many other topics. They are all interesting enough but have in most cases been dealt with before. She only gets into her topic in the sixth chapter and not until the ninth do we really come to the heart of the matter, the trade in the eighteenth century, and especially the English assiento and the operations of the South Sea Company. The history of the trade through Buenos Aires is then pursued to the end of the colonial period. Had the author devoted part of the

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time and energy expended in writing the first one hundred pages to expanding her last chapter, "Consideraciones Generales," the book would have opened up the problem of slavery in the Río de la Plata, which she barely touches. Nonetheless this volume is a milestone on the road toward a history of the Negro in South America.

Among other matters it documents the role of Buenos Aires as the port of entry for the Negro laborers who were to work in the fields or as domestic servants in Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and such interior cities as Cordoba, Rosario, Tucuman, and Mendoza. This seems to have been the case all through the colonial period even when the port of Buenos Aires was closed to the traffic. The reviewer knows no better documentation of the futility of the Spanish effort to maintain a monopoly of trade with the Indies. A single instance will demonstrate the point. Between 1606 and 1615 there are recorded eighty-five Negroes who entered with a license and 4,608 without one. And of course no one knows how many entered without any official cognizance. In fact the author notes that the voice of complaint against the insufficiency of Negro labor was never so stilled as in the years 1640–1650 when the slave trade was officially forbidden but was wide open to the smuggler. The reopening of the slave trade by the crown after 1650 stirred little enthusiasm among the colonists.

For students interested in international trade as well as for those concerned with the economic and social history of Argentina the tables compiled by the author will prove of great value. These tables detail for most of the years between 1703 and 1805 the name, origin, nationality, and itinerary of all the ships that entered the port of Buenos Aires. They also give the tonnage, cargo (usually Negroes), destination upon departure, and return cargo, usually hides, salted meat, lard, silver, and so on. For some periods the sale price of Negroes as well as their destination is given. In many instances the number who died in the middle passage and a statement of the proportion of males and females in the cargo are presented in detail. These tables by themselves would constitute an important contribution to scholarship.

Columbia University FRANK TANNENBAUM

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

Books

General

STUDIES IN HEROIC LEGEND AND IN CURRENT SPEECH. By *Kemp Malone.* Edited by *Stefán Einarsson* and *Norman E. Eliason.* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. 1959. Pp. 297. Cloth D. kr. 56, paper D. kr. 48.) Nineteen articles are here selected by the editors from the voluminous output since 1926 of Kemp Malone, now retired from Johns Hopkins. The last two are technicians' studies on phonemes; number seventeen deals with Hamlet. In his first sixteen articles Malone is working on historical problems: Who peoples were, where they lived, with whom they warred, who were their rulers—all based on northern literary materials of considerably later provenience. He relies entirely upon the techniques of the linguist and critic. To judge by their general pattern of behavior, historians will take little notice of his book. This will be a standoff, to be sure, for the author has little to do with the work of modern professional historians—Italians on the Goths and Lombards, Byzantinists on the Huns, Goths, and Heruls, and the like around a wide circuit. Further comment on the point seems justified. Loyal to my own, I must admit that the methods applied to the protean Anglo-Saxon and Norse legends startle. It is as though out of the mists there suddenly appears the exact legal description of Little Boy Blue's farm: section, town, range, county, and state. The Heathobards, for example, materialize out of a few wisps of reference in *Widsith* and *Beowulf* and become concretely tangible. On the other hand, we have prematurely—a long generation ago—turned away from the northern literary materials as sources for economic, political, social, legal, and ethnic history. Malone and his fellows are properly active in this field, whatever their methods. As Malone knows, this reviewer is working steadily to upset assumptions basic in all the work he and his peers have been doing: That the Old English poetic legends are early and "historical." I base my own efforts upon the materials gathered, and set in order by those whose work, like that found in these articles, I challenge. This is Malone's second *Festchrift;* the first, with his bibliography to 1948, was published ten years ago. This one has a completed bibliography of his publications since. The studies are models of their kind and the editing of this book is excellent. The tribute of his friends, pupils, and peers is nicely done and well deserved.

University of Wisconsin ROBERT REYNOLDS

THE WORLD'S LIGHTHOUSES BEFORE 1820. By *D. Alan Stevenson.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 310. $10.10.) Were the prospective reader to permit himself to be repelled by the somewhat sterile title of *The World's Lighthouses before 1820,* he would be deprived of a most interesting experience. It is a tribute to his literary ability and to his extraordinary knowledge of a difficult technical subject that D. Alan Stevenson has been able to produce a book that is both a comprehensive survey of lighthouses and an interesting, often fascinating account of the hazards, heroism, and dogged persistence in the face of enormous obstacles. Based on

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his personal experience as a lighthouse engineer and builder, as well as on forty years of study of unpublished or normally inaccessible documents, Stevenson has fashioned a remarkable volume of genuine value to the student of maritime history. His enthusiasm is understandable, since his family has been engaged in lighthouse erection since 1786, and one of his ancestors designed and supervised construction of the famous sea-exposed light on Bell (or Inchcape) Rock in 1806 to 1811. His handsome, beautifully printed volume is divided into three logical sections. The first is devoted to seamarks erected before 1690, when technical progress may be said to have begun, while the second is concerned with particular structures. It is in the latter that one finds hitherto unknown details of the intricate planning and almost infinite labor required to erect successfully the great (or now forgotten) lighthouses. The third part contains the technical details of lenses and illuminating devices. The great value of the text is enhanced by the large number of pictures, drawings, and sketches. The typography is excellent, and an adequate index is included. It is to be hoped that the contemplated second volume, which will complete the story to 1960, will contain a bibliographical essay. Stevenson has done a vast amount of work in discovering the sources of information; the serious student would be aided immeasurably by the inclusion of some guides to the material, regardless of its accessibility.

United States Merchant Marine Academy LANE C. KENDALL

TOYNBEE'S APPROACH TO WORLD POLITICS. By *Henry L. Mason.* [Tulane Studies in Political Science, Volume V.] (New Orleans: Tulane University. 1958. Pp. x, 153. $2.00.) Mr. Mason's monograph gives more than its title would indicate. The reader of this thoughtful and well-organized book will find in it not only a discussion of Toynbee's approach to contemporary politics, but a review of the salient points in *A Study of History* and the controversy provoked by them. The author sets forth Toynbee's approach under four headings: methodology, the present world struggle, the religious solution, and the study of international relations. To these is added an appendix that deals with Toynbee and his critics. In each chapter Mason first states Toynbee's own point of view and then confronts it with the countless objections raised against his generalizations by historians, social scientists, and philosophers. Mason is obviously sympathetic toward Toynbee, but maintains a careful middle-of-the-road attitude. He emphasizes the break between the earlier parts of the *Study* and the volumes published in 1954, in which the intelligible field of study has been switched from civilizations to religions. This deviation, as the alert reader of the first six volumes will recall, had already been forecast (*A Study of History,* V, page 23). At the end of his book Mason ventures an explanation for the overwhelming hostility with which the *Study* has been greeted by most critics. He believes that, quite aside from the actual merits of the work, it faces the handicap of not fitting into an established academic niche. This reviewer, for one, finds such an explanation too easy. It is obvious that the specialists in each field would raise objections to the distortion of facts in which the *Study* abounds. But this would still have allowed room for a more positive reception than historians, sociologists, and philosophers have accorded the work. Toynbee chose to ignore the philosophical and methodological spadework that had already been done before he embarked on his enterprise. Several decades ago Dilthey wrote: "There is no such last simple word of history, uttering its true sense, any more than there is such a thing to be extracted from nature." Likewise, the logical studies of Max Weber concerning the use of ideal types in historical and sociological research were bypassed by Toynbee. The result is a regrettable lack of precision and consistency throughout the ten volumes of the *Study.* Without doubt, Toynbee is entitled to his

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view of history as "God revealing himself in action," but it should be clear that no empirical evidence can be claimed for such a thesis. It is all to the good that the Crypto-Augustinian concepts of the *Study* have been brought into the open by Toynbee's last volumes. Very likely another ten volumes by an anti-Toynbean might set the record straight. In the absence of such reparation, the student who is interested in the contemporary theory of history will find Mason's book a most helpful guide.

Sweet Briar College GERHARD MASUR

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1956. Selected, edited and introduced by *Noble Frankland*. Assisted by *Vera King*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 768. $13.45.) This new volume in a distinguished series resembles its immediate predecessor and has the same editor (the Institute's deputy director of studies); but it is published with no companion *Survey*, it is 250 pages longer, and costs $3.85 more than the 1955 volume. For lack of the symbiotic *Survey* Mr. Frankland begins each of the book's ten sections with the narrative line on which the documents are strung. The new size and price are due less to these brief introductory essays than to the editor's decision to devote 550 pages to the Suez affair and riots and revolution in Poland and Hungary. In consequence of considering everything else as "residual," 1956 appears to have been a very dull year except in the Middle East and Eastern Europe. The Far East gets sixty-five pages, Africa four (aside from Egypt), and Latin America none. The emphasis might have been different, and less familiar evidence purveyed, had the editor depended less exclusively on English-language publications or had the Royal Institute employed a few document-hunters in foreign centers. (In this context thirty-two of the seventy-seven documents pertaining to Poland and Hungary were taken with suitable acknowledgment from a Columbia University paperback published, miraculously, in December 1956.) What the volume gains from imbalance, of course, is its remarkable full documentation of the events that followed President Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal and that led to war and its lesser substantiation of concurrent developments in Eastern Europe with contrasting denouements in Poland and Hungary.

Bennington College THOMAS P. BROCKWAY

Ancient and Medieval

SPHAIRA–GLOBUS–REICHSAPFEL: WANDERUNG UND WANDLUNG EINES HERRSCHAFTSZEICHENS VON CAESAR BIS ZU ELISABETH II. By *Percy Ernst Schramm*. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1958. Pp. xi, 219, 84 plates. DM 80.) This volume is of fundamental importance in tracing the historical evolution of the *Reichsapfel* (*sphaera, globus, pomum, malum, pila*) as an emblem of sovereignty from Greek antiquity to the present day. Integrally, it is closely associated with the author's three volumes *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (*AHR*, LX [July 1955], 873, LXI [Apr. 1956], 616, LXII [Jan. 1957], 377). The method of investigation is the same: analyses of *Bild-und Wortzeugnisse* and of the tangible evidence ascertainable from surviving emblems. Essential to the survey is the pre-Christian section in which the *sphaera*, symbolic of both the cosmos and the earth, was intimately associated with the deities of Greece and Rome, as exemplified in works of art such as the Pompeian Helios-Apollo mural. The continuity of this symbol is illustrated by the employment of the *Reichsapfel*, surmounted by a cross, throughout the Middle Ages,

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and, in modern times, by sovereigns such as the late emperors of Germany. A recent example (1956) is that of the *Reichsapfel* with cross crowning the lofty spire of the evangelical church in Solingen, Westphalia. The Christian aversion to mythological pagan cosmography compelled the substitution of the disc- or shield-shaped earth with its hemispherical heavenly dome, derived from the Hebraic teachings as set forth in Genesis, in place of the global concept of classical antiquity. Unaltered, however, was the significance of the *sphaera* in the West as symbolic of the sovereignty of the Omnipotent over the cosmos. In the Orthodox Church the cross appeared in lieu of the *sphaera* as symbolic of the cosmos. While the *sphaera* or *globus* with attached cross continued to be represented pictorially on Byzantine coins, icons, and so forth, it lost its practical significance in coronation ceremonies as an emblem of sovereignty. In contrast with this, the *Reichsapfel* became increasingly important in the Western world. From the fourth and fifth centuries when the poet Prudentius in his *Psychomachia* depicted Sapientia as seated upon a sphere, and Martianus Capella represented *Geometria,* the sister of Urania, as holding in her hand a terrestrial globe, celestial and terrestrial spheres became congenial concepts to the medieval mind. During the coronation of Emperor Henry II in 1014 this emblem received apostolic sanction when Pope Benedict VIII placed it in the hand of the newly crowned Emperor in token of the recognition of his temporal vicarate by Christ, "the King of Kings." Henceforth the *Reichsapfel,* the "gulden appel mit dem cruce," was regularly bestowed during the imperial coronation ceremonies, *in signum regni,* along with the *chlamys, colobium, corona, mitra,* and *sceptrum.* With the coming of the new enlightenment of the era of Copernicus and Kepler, Pope Clement V, in recognition of the coronation of Emperor Charles V, could speak unreservedly of the *Reichsapfel* as *totius mundi imago.* The author's researches include also the use of the *Reichsapfel* in the various royal courts of the West, taking cognizance of when it was first employed, when first depicted pictorially, and in which courts it was of little or no significance. The merit of this book, an essential *Wegweiser* for future researches, is not so much in its revelations of new materials as in its orderly presentation, its systematic arrangement, and its penetrating interpretations of the widely scattered evidence.

Bowdoin College THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

IONIAN TRADE AND COLONIZATION. By *Carl Roebuck.* [Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, Number 9.] (New York: Archaeological Institute of America. 1959. Pp. ix, 148.) From the less-specialized viewpoint of the general historian of antiquity, the major interest of this closely documented monograph is the drastic change in present-day conceptions of the role played by Asia Minor in the Greek world during the "Dark Ages" intervening between the Mycenaean Greek and the classical Greek periods. Some forty years ago, David Hogarth delivered in our country a series of lectures, subsequently published under the title *Ionia and the East.* These lectures presented the picture at that time current, premising a highly civilized and economically energetic eastern outpost of Greek civilization acting as intermediary between Mycenaean and classic Greek culture and maintaining intimate contact with Anatolian and eastern Mediterranean centers. The courtly state portrayed by the poet of the *Odyssey* in his account of the Phaeacian kingdom of Alkinoos was ascribed by other British scholars to tenth-century Ionia, which was equipped in imagination with baronial palaces in which Homeric bards like Demodokos in the *Odyssey* recited epic lays reflecting a contemporary heroic level of existence. Since then, this attractive but wholly specious mirage has been dissipated, and Ionia has emerged as little different

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from the rest of Greece during the long cultural retrogression of the initial centuries of the first millennium B.C. The break with Mycenaean tradition was as severe on the Asia Minor shoreland as in mainland Greece; and far from being the torchbearer of cultural enlightenment for the rest of the Aegean world, the Ionian settlements were, if anything, belated in their emergence from economic and cultural obscurity. It was not until the close of the eighth century that Ionian trade began to assume importance, and not until the last quarter of the following century that overseas expansion and long-distance travel began. Roebuck has competently assembled and critically evaluated the archaeological and literary evidence for the true state of affairs in ancient Ionia. In addition to his detailed survey of the Ionian towns, he devotes separate chapters to Ionia's relations with the hinterland of Phrygia and Lydia, her sea-borne connections with Syria and Cyprus, her early role in the Aegean, and her ultimate territorial expansion by maritime commerce and colonization to Thrace, the Sea of Marmora, and the Black Sea shoreland. Further archaeological explorations, now going on, will add more detail to Roebuck's conscientious picture; but there is little prospect that they will seriously alter any of its major outlines.

Downingtown, Pennsylvania RHYS CARPENTER

BELLORUM CIVILIUM. Book I. By *Appian*. Introduction, critical text and commentary, with translation and indexes by *Emilio Gabba*. [Biblioteca di Studi Superiori, Volume XXXVII. Storia antica ed epigrafia.] (Florence: La "Nuova Italia." 1958. Pp. xlii, 444. L. 4,500.) Despite all Appian's failings, the importance of the first book of his *Civil Wars* remains unquestioned, for it is the one surviving continuous source for Roman history of the period from Tiberius Gracchus to the first consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Yet the actual value of the work of this Alexandrine Greek of the second century after Christ can be no greater than that of his principal sources, and these remain uncertain. Hence the long, and inconclusive, debate about the sources of Book I, and hence, too, the special need of a historical commentary that brings together and compares the scattered material of the rest of the tradition with Appian, and brings the resources of recent scholarship to bear upon him. This is the first edition with historical commentary since Strachan-Davidson's excellent one in 1902. It should receive a warm welcome. The author is well known for his outstanding studies of the history of the period, and in his book *Appiano e la Storia delle Guerre Civili* (Florence, 1956) has already demonstrated his command of the vast mass of scholarly writing on Appian as well as his judgment in dealing with historical problems. In a brief introduction the author reviews the evidence regarding the life and works of Appian, the composition and purpose of the *Histories* in general, and in particular the *Civil Wars*. Here he could summarize his previous arguments for considering Asinius Pollio an important source for Book I, but although he has pointed out the inclusion in Appian's account of items that might have been of interest to Pollio there remain important considerations against his view (see M. Gelzer, *Gnomon* [1958], 216 ff.; E. Badian, *Classical Review* [1958], 159 ff.). This does not in any way reduce the value of the edition and commentary, the second and major part of the work. For the text is good, based on Viereck, and variants are carefully noted; comparative historical sources are presented fully; the author takes account of contrasting interpretations while stating, but not forcing, his own; and on most points he carries conviction. A translation into Italian is appended. All who work on the period from the Gracchi to Sulla should keep this convenient volume near at hand.

American Academy in Rome T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

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GIBBON AND ROME. By *E. J. Oliver*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1958. Pp. vii, 198. $3.50.) This attractive little book is not intended to replace any of the major biographies of Gibbon, or the fuller analyses of his journals or letters, nor again the more extensive studies of his place in the series of the historians of Rome and in the life and thought of the eighteenth century, though of necessity it touches on all these subjects. It is a review of his life and development, based on a selection of interrelated material from the *Autobiographies* and from the *Decline and Fall* itself, and emphasizes one central, yet somewhat paradoxical, point. Behind the serenity, the detachment, and the irony of his attitude and style, his minimizing of such elemental forces as love and religion in human affairs, and his practical suppression of them in favor of sociability and friendship in his own life, lay a grand enthusiasm. That enthusiasm was for the history of Rome, for history conceived, it is true, as the fruit of unremitting scholarship, but reconstructed on the basis of the Roman sense of order and the Roman administrative virtues. Hence the strength and the weakness of the historian. In a time that had not yet learned to consider change and development as a law of nature, he distrusted the forces that broke down the peace and order of the Antonine age and introduced disorder and irrationality in their place. This, although we must also take account of his own previous personal renunciations, explains his attitude toward women, religion, and democratic movements, the great instigators of such things, and explains also his unsympathetic presentation of the Byzantine Empire. The author is aware of the decline in Gibbon's quality when Tillemont was no longer there to guide him, but holds that more is due to the fact that the fall of the Roman Empire left him without the unifying influence of his chief enthusiasm. But he is not without high appreciation of Gibbon's quality. "Even Gibbon's 'candour' was only a vision seen in the light of his loyalty to the Roman Empire and to the 'great republic' of Europe. But the simplicity and coherence of that vision, . . . the serenity of his observation, raised his work above the level of those who, whether on religious, national or political grounds, were more involved in the details or the debates of the past. . . . Gibbon stood only for the framework of the European tradition, the Roman virtues of discipline and classical order, its bones and bodily structure. Its spirit, its Jewish and Christian inspiration, were remote from him, as was the Greek philosophy which it adapted to its expression. . . . His weakness was that of history itself, which unrolls its proud record of persons and places, but is incapable of raising from the dead or infusing them with the breath of life." Would historians grant that the historical imagination does not try to do just that? Perhaps the author has let his paradox carry him too far. And he might have made more of the Lausanne journal, which shows that if the idea of writing the *Decline and Fall* came to him on the Capitol in Rome, the reading of the previous year was excellent preparation for it.

American Academy in Rome T. Robert S. Broughton

THE WANDERING SAINTS OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By *Eleanor Duckett*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. c. 1959. Pp. 319. $5.00.) Surely no one has ever loved the early Middle Ages as Miss Duckett does. She has long been fascinated by the heroic efforts of religious leaders to spread the faith and preserve the rudiments of scholarship in an age of violence and ignorance. In this book she tells the story of the wandering saints from Patrick through Columban and Boniface to Anskar—the story of the missionaries and the seekers after solitude who established centers of Christian living over all of Northern Europe. She tells the story well, as she always does; her graceful style almost conceals the solid scholarship on which her book is based. This is as good a summary as can be found in English of what is really

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known about many of the early saints; it is only after she has established this solid background that she gives herself the pleasure of telling a few of the marvelous legends. She sees the weaknesses as well as the strengths of her saints; they are real people, not stained glass images. I am not sure, however, that she makes the world in which they lived as real as they are. She knows that it was a world of cruelty, treachery, and suffering, and she says so, but somehow this carries no conviction. Goodness is real to her; evil is not. Perhaps her saints felt the same way.

Princeton University J. R. STRAYER

THE IDEA OF APOSTOLICITY IN BYZANTIUM AND THE LEGEND OF THE APOSTLE ANDREW. By *Francis Dvornik*. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Number 4.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 342. $6.00.) This book will be received with the respect due to the author of the admirable work on the Photian schism (1948). Its main result is the convincing proof that the legend presenting the Apostle Andrew as the founder of the See of Constantinople is of comparatively recent origin, "codified" not before the end of the seventh century, and that Constantinople's leading position in the Eastern Church is based on her character as the capital rather than on the claim of apostolic origin. The argumentation is highly technical and thorough; it includes detailed studies on the idea of apostolicity not only in Byzantium but also in the West, on the development of the Andrew legend in the apocryphal literature, on the rivalries between Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome, on the Acacian schism, and several other related topics. Professor Dvornik calls his book an "investigation"; he allows the reader to accompany him through all the stages of his research. This is a stimulating experience, certainly most valuable for the specialist in the field. The more generally interested reader, however, will probably feel perplexed by being exposed to so many possibilities and hypotheses finally accepted or rejected after extensive discussion. The book has the faults of its virtues. The author's searching mind occasionally succumbs to the temptation of believing to know the unknowable; also the danger of pressing the source is not always avoided. This reviewer believes, for instance, that Justinian's *Novella* 109 is overinterpreted when a clause borrowed from the Creed is taken as proof for "a move toward apostolicity." Once or twice Dvornik refers to a forthcoming book of his on the origins of Christian political philosophy; it is hoped that this book will bring a more concise and briefer statement of the essentials of the present study.

Kenyon College RICHARD G. SALOMON

AVICENNA: HIS LIFE AND WORKS. By *Soheil M. Afnan*. (London: George Allan and Unwin Ltd.; distrib. by Macmillan Company, New York. 1958. Pp. 298. $6.75.) Avicenna (ibn-Sīnā) is one of a few medieval Moslem philosophers whose works assumed, despite the peril of translators' choice, an importance in European philosophy almost as great as they already possessed in Islamic philosophy. Consequently they have been studied by Islamicists and historians of philosophy for a longer time and more carefully than those of many other Moslem philosophers. Recently, especially since the rather protracted (because of the difference between solar and lunar reckoning and still, according to the best dating, premature) millenary celebrations of his birth, Avicenna studies have progressed at a rapid pace. Three scholars have produced successively more exact lists of extant manuscripts of his works; the volumes of the excellent new edition of his encyclopedic *al Shifā'*, sponsored by the Arab League, have appeared with praiseworthy regularity; many more of the texts have been studied, edited, and translated; appropriate journals have given Avicenna studies privileged

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space. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Mr. Afnan's book is already, in certain particulars, out of date. Yet it serves a valuable purpose, one not likely to be served better for some years to come: it gives a general exposition and analysis, neither too concise nor too cumbersome, of the whole of Avicenna's thought. The work is written well and is accurate with respect to the materials available to its author. Afnan was wise to form independent judgments from the texts and not to depend too heavily upon a few outdated secondary sources. His opinions on the Greek works available to Avicenna, while open to further discussion, are well supported and stimulating. He is right in emphasizing the supreme importance of Avicenna's contributions in the realm of metaphysics. Yet the chapters are far too sparing of annotation, even of citation of sources. More use could have been made in the chapter on Avicenna's religious thought of the important book by Louis Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne* (Paris, 1951). There are many small errors in the notes and bibliography. Although the major value of the work lies in the systematic treatment of the various branches of Avicenna's philosophy in a logical sequence, the reader will find the two concluding chapters, on Avicenna's influence in the East and in the West, remarkably informative. Afnan has in fact written the best general book on Avicenna so far, one that should be consulted by the specialist and nonspecialist alike.

Princeton University JAMES KRITZECK

RAYMOND IV DE SAINT-GILLES, 1041 (OU 1042)–1105. By *John H.* and *Laurita L. Hill.* Translated by *Francisque Costa* and *Philippe Wolff.* [Bibliothèque Méridionale publiée sous les auspices de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse, 2d Series, Volume XXXV.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat. 1959. Pp. xxi, 143.) This is an important revisionist biography, involving the story of the baronial expeditions of the so-called "First" Crusade. The events in which Raymond was involved are sketched in seven chapters: his early career; the launching of the crusade; the "Greco-Provençale" alliance (from Raymond's approach to Constantinople through the capture of Nicaea); the siege of Antioch; the ensuing Norman-Provençal conflict (including minor conquests and the episode of the Sacred Lance); the march to Jerusalem and its fall (including the Battle of Ascalon and Godfrey's selection as ruler of Jerusalem); and "the accomplishment of [Raymond's] vow" never to return home (including his involvement in the Asia Minor expedition of 1101 and his conquest of Tripoli). Throughout these chapters run a well-buttressed and generally convincing rehabilitation of Raymond's reputation, disproofs of traditional characterizations (e.g., a one-eyed veteran of the precrusade crusades in Spain, who was fanatical as a monk and land greedy as a Norman), and a recasting as *Christiane milicie excellentissimus princeps,* "the only leader in the first crusade who remained faithful to the spirit of the crusade," "an intelligent chieftain who throughout the crusade endeavored to unite . . . the divergent groups of the army, to aid the poor in their hour of need, to maintain amity between Greeks and Latins, and to lead the Christians to the Holy Sepulchre." Bases for this optimistic characterization are presented in detail throughout the seven chapters. William and Malmesbury is cited in support of the theory that it was Raymond, along with the bishop of Cahors, who persuaded Urban to preach the crusade. Raymond's reputation for greed is explained as a modern misinterpretation based on the pious preachments of his own fanatical crusader-chronicler, Raymond d'Aguilers, who (unlike other crusader-correspondents) blamed as well as praised his own patron. The fiasco of the 1101 expedition, usually charged by hostile chroniclers to Raymond's nefarious scheming, was due actually to the stupidity of the undisciplined band of which he was guide rather than commander. Despite his refusal to take an oath of vassalage to Emperor

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Alexis, he faithfully kept the specific promises he swore. (It is, however, difficult to accept the reconciliation, on page 135, of this fact with his conquests of former imperial holdings and his acceptance of comparable Norman conquests.) Similarly, in the case of the Sacred Lance, Raymond's actions seem more representative of the traditional characterizations than of the present optimistic revision. The Hills attribute the modern negative estimation of Raymond to acceptance of Von Sybel's critical survey of the First Crusade (1881). They cite Fliche's and Cate's minor revisions as recent indications of the turning of the tide in Raymond's favor. On this major issue we are convinced. We are inclined, however, to rank Raymond much lower than the angels, though by no means as low as Bohemond, the archvillain who (as Yewdale showed in 1917) did more to bring reproach on the name crusader than any other of the self-seekers who camouflaged their materialism beneath the sign of the cross. Three excellent maps and a nine-page bibliography enhance this excellent summary of years of careful research (but why was Krey's *First Crusade* unmentioned?).

University of North Carolina LOREN C. MACKINNEY

JOHN, KING OF ENGLAND. By *John T. Appleby*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1959. Pp. ix, 319, xv. $5.00.) This book is written by an amateur for amateurs. Mr. Appleby loves English history, and he writes for those who share his enthusiasm. This is not to say that he is not serious about his work. He has used the principal primary sources as well as the best secondary ones, though he does not provide his readers with references to his authorities—why is it that footnotes are so disliked? It must be said, also, that he does not have a professional's regard for accuracy, especially in proper names. But he writes clearly and simply in the modern taste, and if his style has a fault, it is that the tempo is too quick for his subject. Appleby's King John is a man, a political figure and not a constitutional symbol. He rightly stresses John's skepticism about the religion of his day, a fact that explains the intense feeling against the King on the part of the clergy and especially of the monastic chroniclers of his reign. Like other modern historians, he shows John to be intelligent, capable as an administrator, and interested in law, but also vicious, distrustful, selfish, grasping, mean, and avaricious. He does not perhaps make enough of John's cruelty. According to one unpublished source, it was this that lost him Normandy: he put mercenary garrisons in the Norman castles and allowed them to ravage his own people without restraint. Appleby shows no growth or change in John's character from youth to maturity, nor does he consider questions of causation—why was John as he was? There is evidence here that he does not use. In sum, this is a book for anyone interested in the riddles of John's character and reign. The professional may be distressed by some minor inaccuracies, but otherwise one may hope it finds a wide readership.

University of Connecticut FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

CHRONICLE ABOUT THE TURKISH SULTANS ACCORDING TO THE GREEK BARBERINUS CODE [in Greek]. Number 3. By *George T. Zoras*. (Athens: Department of Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic Philology of the University of Athens. 1958. Pp. 383.) The publication for the first time of the Vatican Library's Barberinus Code 111 is the most important contribution during recent years to source material for the history of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, 1373–1513. The chronicle throws new light on the domestic and foreign policies of the sultans, the causes of the decadence of the Byzantine Empire, and the policy of the Western powers in Byzantium. Moreover, it completes a long series of chronicles by Chalcocondylas, Ducas,

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Phrantzes, Critobulos of Imbros, and Pseudodorotheos of Monemvasia. All students of Byzantium are indebted to Professor G. T. Zoras for publishing this work. The Barberinus Code is a copy of the original manuscript of an anonymous Greek chronicler who wrote it between 1513 and 1532. The present copy was found acephalous and mutilated; its subtitle *Historia Imperatorum Turcarum* was added in a later period. Yet its greatest part is preserved. This chronicle has special value for linguists because it is the best literary document in early demotic Greek. Its style is simple and elegant, making a sharp contrast with all other works of the same period, the language of which is as a rule an adulteration of both demotic and archaic. Zoras has furnished the chronicle with a good introduction, nine selected plates, footnotes, and references to a large bibliography, though he shows a definite preference for Hammer's *History of the Othoman Empire* (London, 1835–36). There is a guide to the sources used by the chronicler, a vocabulary, an index to the passages of the text corresponding to the sources, and an index of names. The editor has undoubtedly provided scholars with an invaluable text of the post-Byzantine period.

Birkbeck College, London DOMNA N. DONTAS

LA FRANCE GOUVERNÉE PAR JEAN SANS PEUR: LES DÉPENSES DU RECEVEUR GÉNÉRAL DU ROYAUME. By *B-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé.* [Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, Number 13.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. 405.) The accounts (1418–1420) of Pierre Gorremont, receiver general of France, are one of the most important fragments of royal financial records that survive from the Valois period. The author has already exploited them in studies that describe the policies of John the Fearless and the effects of his last period of power on French finances and institutions. The present work gives a detailed inventory of the disbursement items in the accounts. The text, notes, and index of the inventory seem full enough to make it useful for general research purposes, though an inventory of the complete accounts would be even better. A fifty-page introduction organizes and analyzes the items in the account that give information on politics, military affairs, and diplomacy. The interest lies in the detail rather than in new conclusions.

Harvard University CHARLES H. TAYLOR

Modern

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

LOLLARDS AND PROTESTANTS IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK, 1509–1558. By *A. G. Dickens.* [University of Hull Publications.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull. 1959. Pp. 272. $4.80.) Although Dickens' closely argued and well-written book is limited mainly to Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, it is nevertheless an important contribution to the history of the English Reformation. For among the lower and middle classes in the area he has studied, the author finds the existence of an intensive and widespread radical Protestantism directly continuing the earlier Lollard traditions of popular heresy. This continued Lollardry was revivified by Anabaptist influence coming from the Netherlands in the 1530's. The communities where this radical Protestantism was strong in the first half of the sixteenth century became centers of Independency in the following century. Thus Dickens' admirable book demonstrates the continuity of religious radicalism in England from the

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medieval Lollards to the seventeenth-century Independents. His work is the greatest single contribution to the most interesting recent development in the historiography of the English Reformation: a tendency to return to the Victorian liberal Protestant view that the English Reformation was founded on popular native English religious traditions and was not simply an act of the state, which has been the prevailing interpretation in the past half century of scholarship. The importance of the book lies in the fact that Lollardry's continuing influence has now been demonstrated by careful and sound historical research in both manuscript and published materials.

Princeton University NORMAN F. CANTOR

ESSAYS IN ELIZABETHAN HISTORY. By *J. E. Neale.* (New York: St Martin's Press. c. 1958. Pp. 255. $3.50.) This volume is a collection of twelve essays, or short historical studies, that have been previously published. Three of the articles appeared in the journal *History* (Oct. 1925, 1928, 1951); three were published in the *English Historical Review* (Apr. 1929; July 1930; Apr. 1949). One essay, "The *Via-Media* in Politics," appeared in the *Saturday Review* (Oct. 1, 1955), with the caption "Elizabeth I and Her Cold War." Three of the chapters were delivered as the Creighton Lecture, the British Academy Raleigh Lecture, and the Centenary Lecture. The introductory essay on "November 17"—Queen Elizabeth's accession day—serves both as an introduction and as a delightful recapitulation of the observance of this day for two centuries, its nonobservance for two hundred years, and its revival in November 1958, in the days of Good Queen Elizabeth II. One of the fascinating chapters is a careful analysis of Frederick Chamberlin's book *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth.* A better example of incisive, trenchant criticism would be difficult to find. Chamberlin's claims are refuted, his accusations are turned against himself, and his criticisms are answered. He fails to give Miss Strickland credit for material used, he has been unaware of the difference between a document and a calendar of it, he has cited worthless authorities, and he has demonstrated unsound critical equipment. In separate chapters Professor Neale discusses the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the nature of the Elizabethan age, and the characteristics of the political scene. In following the *via media,* Elizabeth in her dealings with Puritans, Presbyterians, Catholics, and Separatists is depicted as being moderate and wise, but her zigzagging is certainly apparent. Two studies pertain to the role of the diplomatic envoys and the practices of Sir Edward Stafford in Paris. Neale disagrees with Conyers Read's interpretation and steadfastly maintains the innocence of Sir Edward from the charge of treason. Two of the most interesting chapters relate to the biographical interpretation of history and the work of Professor A. F. Pollard. It was my good fortune to hear the lecture on biography at the Anglo-American Historical Conference in 1950, and it was my special privilege to sit in on three of Neale's stimulating seminars. Men are important in history, the Institute of Historical Research is a monument to Pollard, and the clear elucidation of the Elizabethan age in six books and numerous articles is a tribute to Neale. It is indeed fitting that Elizabeth II has knighted him for his distinguished contribution to historical research.

Southern California School of Theology LELAND H. CARLSON

MARIA STUART: IHR LEBEN ALS KÖNIGIN UND FRAU. By *Gerda Doublier.* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1959. Pp. 318. DM 16.50.) "Mary Stuart," says the opening sentence on the dust jacket of this new biography, "is one of the greatest tragic female figures of world history." Certainly she has long been regarded as such, and I dare say that more has been written about her than about

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any other queen of modern times. Another biography might well seem like the proverbial coals to Newcastle, and unfortunately the present work falls into that category. It is a straightforward, rather sentimental retelling of the Queen's story, quite predictable from beginning to end, once the point of view is established. Mary is a high-spirited, lively girl, surrounded by self-seekers like Moray and fanatics like Knox (who is incorrectly introduced to the reader as being among the murderers of Cardinal Beaton). This is, unhappily, not the only factual slip in the book. The author for the most part contents herself with narrative; there is no serious attempt to come to grips with the larger historical problems of the period, or even with those presented by Mary's own career. The scholarly apparatus is sketchy, and in the four-page bibliography the most important works on Mary's life in English, those of Hay Fleming and Henderson, do not find a place.

University of Illinois MAURICE LEE, JR.

IN QUEST OF THE NORTH WEST PASSAGE. By *Leslie H. Neatby.* Foreword by *J. Tuzo Wilson.* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1958. Pp. 194. $3.75.) The persistent efforts of British explorers to penetrate by water from the Atlantic to the Pacific above North America is the subject of this lucid and lively narrative by Leslie H. Neatby, professor of classics at Acadia University. It covers the period from 1576 to 1859, but it is the series of land and sea expeditions after 1819 that receive major attention. These established the existence of a Northwest Passage even though none of them succeeded in making a transit of it by sea. Except for Bering, Neatby only briefly mentions explorers not British in origin or support. The well-selected bibliography indicates the use of published materials and secondary works. The author quotes effectively from sources and skillfully conveys to the reader something of the explorers' spirit and a "feel" for the conditions encountered. Although in the main this is a narrative of geographic discovery, there is adequate background of the economic, political, and scientific setting in which the journeys were made. The text is illustrated by four plates reproducing contemporary drawings and paintings and by five maps. Two of the maps are to be especially commended since they can be folded out conveniently and used to follow the narrative.

Pomona College JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

THE EASTLAND TRADE AND THE COMMON WEAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *R. W. K. Hinton.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 244. $6.00.) This workmanlike combination of useful facts and suggestive ideas illuminates England's early trade with Scandinavia and the "East Country," as the southeast Baltic coast centering at Danzig was often termed. Except for the collection of the Eastland Company's acts and ordinances edited by Maud Sellers in 1906, it is the first complete study of that company which was chartered by Elizabeth in 1579 and which disappeared around 1700. The author makes particularly good use of the six volumes of the Danish Sound Tables, edited by Nina Bang and Knud Korst. As for the "common weal" of the book's title, Hinton remarks that it was "a less nebulous idea than it sounds. . . . Was it for the common good to favour the Eastland merchants at the expense of the clothiers? Was it in the national interest during the Thirty Years War to encourage Gustavus Adolphus at the expense of the Eastland merchants? An important question for this study recurs in instructions to councils of trade through the century—'Whether it be necessary to give way to a

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more open and free trade than that of companies and societies.'" When Elizabeth granted monopoly privileges to the merchants trading with the Eastland and elsewhere, they undertook various important functions that the government was not yet ready to assume. In 1622, when Dutch competition was robbing Suffolk and Essex of their Baltic market for broadcloths, the company's privileges were expanded to cut out imports through the Amsterdam entrepôt. But when Holland again made heavy inroads in 1649, Parliament put things on a broader basis by passing the Navigation Act of 1651 which "was a turning-point. It did what privileges had done and so made privileges less useful." Some of the author's most interesting contributions are in connection with that important landmark. The Eastland Company gradually declined; it was not suited for the new English entrepôt trade. Gradually the government took over more and more functions, with warships in the Baltic, and finally, in 1706, a commercial treaty with Danzig was the company's "fatal blow." Baltic trade, in the meantime had flourished while the company languished. Stress is laid upon the boom following England's withdrawal from the Third Dutch War in 1674 while Holland continued its exhausting war with France. The appendix, with sixty-three of the total 244 pages, has much rich material. It reproduces two pertinent pamphlets bearing on the Navigation Act. It also includes a valuable table, mined out of the Sound Tables, showing for each year between 1590 and 1700 the number of vessels in England's Baltic trade under various flags and also the vessels in Dutch trade. In addition it gives the number of pieces of cloth shipped from England and from Holland to the Baltic.

Harvard University ROBERT G. ALBION

WAY TO GLORY: THE LIFE OF HAVELOCK OF LUCKNOW. By *J. C. Pollock*. (London: John Murray. c. 1957. Pp. x, 269. 25*s*.) There is no lack of Havelock biographies. The first, *A Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock* (1858), by the Reverend William Brock, is little more than a sermon. John Clark Marshman's *Memoir* (1860) contains fragments of letters that have since been lost, but it is a panegyric. A brief account by Archibald Forbes, *Havelock* (1890), is more objective, yet it is based almost entirely on printed sources. Recently a *Havelock* (1957) by Leonard Cooper appeared. Although an improvement over its predecessors, it, too, is almost entirely derivative. Pollock's purpose was evidently to produce a popular biography based upon the unpublished Havelock papers. This is on balance the best life to date. We see the Christian general "warts and all," how, for example, he was disappointed in Persia when what he hoped would be a hard-fought war resulted in easy victory and visions of promotion to major general faded. Earlier, Henry Lawrence is reported saying of him, "He is a strange person, but is acknowledged to be as good soldier as man; the best of both probably in Camp." The author's conclusion is that Havelock was a saint, but that "he was not an eccentric like Gordon or dour and harsh like Stonewall Jackson, with whom he is most frequently compared." Havelock's campaigns are described graphically. The reader will find no penetrating analysis here; still the writer has demonstrated considerable literary talent and a wholesome respect for the sources. Some may think Pollock would have been wiser had he added footnotes.

Los Angeles Valley College MARK NAIDIS

THE DIARIES OF LORD LUGARD. Volume I, EAST AFRICA, NOVEMBER 1889 TO DECEMBER 1890; Volume II, EAST AFRICA, DECEMBER 1890 TO DECEMBER 1891; Volume III, EAST AFRICA, JANUARY 1892 TO AUGUST

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1892. Edited by *Margery Perham.* Assistant editor, *Mary Bull.* [Northwestern University African Studies, Number 3.] (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1959. Pp. 432; 481; 454. $20.00 the set.) It is hardly credible that Lugard should have been able to keep any diaries at all in the difficult conditions of his work in Kenya and Uganda in 1889–1892—much less a million-word record of his activities over a thirty-three-month period—and, having kept such a record, it is even more amazing that it should have survived all the possible accidents of loss in Africa and later destruction in England. It was never intended to be published but was written for Lugard's own personal use, and he meant for it to be destroyed after his death in 1945. Most surprising of all (in view of modern printing costs) is the fact that the diaries have now been published. Their publication, furthermore, has been excellently done: excisions have been kept to a minimum; notes are adequate without crowding the narrative and adding a second narrative to that of the text; and there is a full set of maps, biographical and bibliographical references, a glossary, and indexes to persons and places. Only a subject index is missing. In short, the work comes very close to being exactly what a published historical document should be. And it is a published historical document, rather than an addition to the body of travel literature or a work of belles-lettres. Lugard himself rewrote large sections of these diaries in order to publish his two-volume *Rise of Our East African Empire,* which mainly covers the same events. Miss Perham has presented a biographical account of these years, set against their background in European diplomacy, in the first volume of her *Lugard.* Those who are interested in a work of literature or biography will turn to the two books that have already grown out of the diaries. Every future historian of East Africa, however, will have to consult the diaries as a major and invaluable source for a period of key importance, and one that is otherwise only sparsely documented. Even the more general reader will find something here to make up for the relative lack of literary polish. There is a feeling of immediacy about an account that was written day by day on the long marches or in the intricate play of Buganda politics. The impression of East Africa during the scramble is here, and most of all the personality and attitudes of the foremost founder of the British Empire in tropical Africa come alive more vividly than they do in his more formal accounts of his work. The principal limitation of these volumes as historical sources comes from the fact that Lugard was a European on a continent he was barely coming to understand. The Africans who cross the scene are merely cardboard figures seen dimly through the filtering cultural arrogance of late Victorian Britain, though this failing is more a reflection of the times than of any inadequacy in the diarist.

University of Wisconsin PHILIP D. CURTIN

SIR NEVILE HENDERSON: BRITISCHER BOTSCHAFTER IN BERLIN VON 1937 BIS 1939. EIN BEITRAG ZUR DIPLOMATISCHEN VORGESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES. By *Rudi Strauch.* [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Number 11.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1959. Pp. 384. DM 24.) This German doctoral thesis is a comprehensive attempt to explain the role of Sir Nevile Henderson, the central figure in formulating British policy of appeasement on the eve of World War II. As British ambassador in Berlin he was prepared to accept Hitler's policy of *Lebensraum,* as long as it did not develop into violence, and in doing this he often went beyond the authority of his station or disregarded his instructions. The author justly states that it was a grievous mistake not to have replaced Henderson by a diplomat equal to the situation. Acknowledging this lack of British foresight, however, cannot prevent a negative judgment of the ambassador himself. Henderson failed to

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realize the ultimate aims of Hitler's policy, and, deceived by his own good will, he also failed to discourage a fatal political movement. This study is based primarily on published documents of the British and German Foreign Offices and on memoirs and to a limited extent on unpublished materials. Strauch does not explain why he assumed that Henderson's personal diaries are deposited in the classified archives of the British Foreign Office and thus were inaccessible to him. The book is objective with two exceptions. First, Strauch uses awkwardly and inconsistently the term *Einkreisungspolitik* (policy of encirclement), referring to the British policy during the summer of 1939 without making clear whether he accepts it as a valid expression or merely regards it as a propaganda slogan. Second, many of the titles he places at the top of each page to describe the subject matter are emotion laden. This practice should be avoided in academic writings. The weakest point in this study is the lack of interpretation. Too often the author quotes from other writers, and his study results in a familiar picture. Readers looking for an accurate evaluation of the role played by Henderson must still resort to Felix Gilbert's brief study in *The Diplomats 1919–1939*, edited by Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert.

School of Advanced International Studies,
Johns Hopkins University GÜNTER MOLTMANN

EUROPE

RECHERCHES SUR LA FORMATION DE LA GRANDE ENTREPRISE CAPITALISTE (1815–1848). By *Bertrand Gille*. [École pratique des hautes études, VI^e^ section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XVII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. 164.) Monsieur Gille has built up a great reputation as an archivist, and, especially, as a searcher for private archives, an area in which he has achieved more success in recent years than almost anyone else in France. Despite many reversals, he has accomplished enough to earn the profound gratitude of his fellow historians. In this book he is interested primarily in the important fields of banking, credit, and metallurgy. He explains where capital was obtained and how it was used. He brings out with remarkable clarity the important part played by the Talabots supported by the Rothschilds in the development of French railroads as well as metallurgy and the defeat of other groups such as the Geneva bankers. The official and private archives listed are extremely useful, but the bibliography of printed books is brief. Gille has not used the most important of the French expositions, that of 1851, which contains General Poncelet's *History of Machinery in France* in two volumes, the best book of its kind on the period 1815–1848, and a series of histories of French industries in that same period which are also very valuable. He also shows an almost complete lack of knowledge of the work of foreign scholars in French economic history. Even books he is known to have reviewed are not mentioned. Finally it must be noted that Gille writes as an extreme nationalist, dreading not only the competition of England but even competition within France. He seems unable to realize that in the period 1815–1848 French industry was frequently backward because of the lack of competition. He sees only the power and economic advantages of England at that time and the economic disadvantages of France, which he apparently believes should always be compensated for by wise legislation such as the system of prohibitions of the Restoration.

Ivy, Virginia ARTHUR LOUIS DUNHAM

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DESCRIPTION TOPOGRAPHIQUE, PHYSIQUE, CIVILE, POLITIQUE ET HISTORIQUE DE LA PARTIE FRANÇAISE DE L'ÎSLE SAINT-DOMINGUE. In three volumes. By [*Médéric-Louis-Élie*] *Moreau de Saint-Méry*. Edited by *Blanche Maurel* and *Étienne Taillemite*. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Coloniale, New Series.] (2d ed.; Paris: Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises and Librairie Larose. 1958. Pp. xlvii, 531; 534–1160; 1164–1565.) Scholars and others who have studied the history of "Saint-Domingue," now the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo, have found themselves sooner or later in the rare book room of a library, looking for the monumental works of Moreau de Saint-Méry. No one before or after him has provided such a comprehensive, learned, and interesting analysis of any of the Caribbean islands. Geographical information includes weather observations, the speed of streams, and the depth of anchorages, as well as more obvious physical features. There are detailed social studies, including facts and problems of race, with both practical and theoretical remarks about the institution of slavery on which the economy of Saint-Domingue was based. Each division of the island, even each parish, is analyzed politically, economically, and geographically. Moreau de Saint-Méry's works dealt with the whole island, in two separate editions, *Description de la Partie Espagnole de l'Île de Saint-Domingue* (Philadelphia, 1796) and *Description de la Partie Française de l'Île de Saint-Domingue* (Philadelphia, 1797–98). Both works are rare, but this is truer of the second, which unlike its predecessor, has never been translated, nor has there, until now, been a second edition, except for some forty pages of extracts published in 1828 (Paris, 1828; cf. Sabin, *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* [New York, 1880], page 363). Moreau de Saint-Méry (1750–1819) was a native of Martinique, whose education, like his subsequent career, was divided between Paris and the Caribbean colonies. He held administrative and judicial posts in both Martinique and Saint-Domingue and was later active in the French Revolution, at one time as vice-president of the Paris Commune. He came to the United States as a refugee in 1793 and opened a bookstore in Philadelphia which was frequented by many French refugees of all political complexions. The bookstore did not prosper, and a general store which he annexed to it soon swallowed it up. By a miracle, Moreau's friends managed to ship his notes to him from France, and incredible as it seems, his two *Descriptions* soon saw the light of day. His business failed, but the sale of his works included one thousand copies of the *Partie Française* and three hundred of the *Partie Espagnole*. Moreau returned to France to end his days in poverty, alleviated somewhat by Louis XVIII's advance purchase of Moreau's 287 volumes of papers which were to remain with Moreau until his death. This gesture and Louis Philippe's acquisition of Moreau's excellent library have happily deposited these valuable collections in the appreciative hands of the French government. The editors of the new edition have done a remarkable scholarly job, particularly in pointing out omissions in the old printed edition, often with suggestions as to Moreau's reasons for the omissions.

Frederick, Maryland DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN

L'ENSEIGNEMENT PRIMAIRE EN FRANCE DE LA RÉVOLUTION À LA LOI GUIZOT (1789–1833): DES PETITES ÉCOLES DE LA MONARCHIE D'ANCIEN RÉGIME AUX ÉCOLES PRIMAIRES DE LA MONARCHIE BOURGEOISE. By *Maurice Gontard*. [Annales de l'Université de Lyon, 3d Series, Lettres, Fascicule 33.] (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." [1959.] Pp. x, 576.) This comprehensive and detailed survey of the development of elementary education in France from the Revolution through the Guizot Law of 1833, which was published with the aid of the Ministry of National Education, will prove useful as a reference work for

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courses in French history or the history of education. It is lucidly written and clearly organized, with numerous subheadings, into five parts: French primary education before the Revolution, during the Revolution, under Napoleon, during the Restoration, and from the July Revolution to 1833. In each of these periods the origins, nature, and effects of legislation and decrees concerning primary schools are carefully analyzed. The work is based both upon specialized treatises on French education and, except for the introductory section on the *ancien régime,* upon documents in the F^{17} Series (*Instruction Publique*) in the Archives Nationales and in the Departmental Archives of the Rhone. The bibliography alone runs to twenty-seven pages. The author's point of view is naturally that of the republican school, although he endeavors to be moderate in his anticlericalism. He recognizes the existence of a controversy over the condition of elementary education before the Revolution and stresses the need for further study of the administrative and ecclesiastical archives before a conclusion can be reached. But he holds that the general level of instruction was low except in the schools of the *Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes* and, contrary to Louis Grimaud, denies that there was freedom of education before 1789, since the Catholic Church directed the *petites écoles,* although the intendants had increasing responsibility for the schools in the eighteenth century. The majority of the nobility and bourgeoisie were hostile to education for the people, and the peasants were indifferent to it. It was the opponents of the Church, the Protestants and the philosophes, who favored freedom of education and urged profound educational reforms, except for girls. The revolutionary school legislation was animated by a belief in compulsory, gratuitous, and laic education and in the honor and independence of the instructor. Progress, however, was delayed by political disputes, bourgeois hostility, scarcity of teachers and funds, war, and the antipathy of the Church. The Napoleonic regime was little interested in the education of the people, and educational conditions returned to those of the *ancien régime* until the State University endeavored to bring about reform. Under the Restoration, Liberals and Ultras disputed control of the schools and the merits of "mutual instruction." After 1830 the Bourgeois Monarchy tried to utilize popular education to win support, and in 1833, for the first time since the Revolution, the state undertook to finance education. Local governments were required to establish primary and normal schools. After a half century of state educational legislation, Guizot's inquiry into conditions in the primary schools in 1833 revealed mediocre instruction and parental indifference resulting from ignorance, poverty, and self-interest. Gontard feels, nevertheless, that the timid and conservative Guizot Law gave evidence of a very gradual approach toward the democratic principles of 1793.

State University College of Education, New Paltz, New York EVELYN M. ACOMB

L'ALSACE AU DÉBUT DU XIX^{e} SIÈCLE: ESSAIS D'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE, ÉCONOMIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE (1815–1830). Volume I, LA VIE POLITIQUE. By *Paul Leuilliot.* [Bibliothèque générale de l'école pratique des hautes études, VI^{e} section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. xi, 535.) The term *essais* in the title should not mislead. This work is a detailed political history of the two Alsatian departments from the revival of political life under the eyes of Napoleon's conquerors to the eve of the July Revolution. Although the author states that it would require the patience of a Benedictine and several lifetimes to examine all the relevant sources, he has shown unusual industry in using a vast quantity of materials from municipal, departmental, and national archives, as well as the published literature of the period. Leuilliot traces chronologically the impact of national events, elections, changes of policy and personnel, and the influence of local problems and controversies on the politi-

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cal life of Alsace. Some of the most interesting sections deal with public opinion, the political police, and propaganda by the government and the opposition. It emerges that Alsace was more liberal than France as a whole. Of the fifty-nine deputies elected between 1814 and 1829, forty-three belonged to the "Left." At the head of the opposition to the Bourbons were the industrial bourgeoisie, led by such groups as the Koechlin family of Mulhouse. The author's wealth of detail makes the political life of Alsace extraordinarily vivid and reveals its complexities—for example, the great differences between the policies and tactics of the two Ultra prefects, Bouthillier and Casteja—but the accumulation of data tends at times to overwhelm the reader. Since the present volume is to be followed by two others on the economic and religious life of Alsace between 1815 and 1830, the influence of religious controversy and economic problems on political events will probably be clarified when the work is completed. In the present volume Leuilliot refers to such influences, certainly, but close analysis is precluded by the plan of his work. This book is a significant contribution to the study of French local history, now recognized as the indispensable preliminary to a reliable national history.

San Jose State College DAVID I. KULSTEIN

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES: HIS VIEWS ON FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY. By *Mary Lawlor, S.N.D.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 201. $2.25.) Students and admirers of Alexis de Tocqueville will be interested, informed, and quite probably startled by this monographic study, through which Mary Lawlor, S.N.D., makes a systematic and timely contribution to our literature on this man. The centennial year of the great political philosopher's death has seen a number of conferences in honor of the man and his work, both in the United States and abroad. Recently the Catholic University of America Press published Edward T. Gargan's *Alexis de Tocqueville: The Critical Years, 1848–1851* (Washington, D. C., 1955). Now, in a second dissertation presented to the same faculty of the Catholic University of America, an earlier phase of Tocqueville's life is explored: specifically, his speeches and writings as a deputy on the subject of foreign and colonial policy. The author has made an energetic and fruitful search for Tocqueville's pronouncements on a succession of political matters: on the Eastern Question, on the right of search, on slavery in the French colonies, and on French colonial policy in Algiers. Here under a moving spotlight we can study the least regarded and, in many ways, the least successful phase of Tocqueville's career, and discover "interesting facets of Tocqueville's character that have been scarcely recognized before; an impassioned nationalism and an urgent practicality, a boastful pride in French equality, a willingness to support the government in its new law regulating slavery in the French colonies, and to concur with the government 'on the neutral terrain' of its policy in Algeria." In sober truth, Tocqueville emerges as a nationalist in politics, eager at times to light the flames of patriotic ardor in the Chamber of Deputies in resentment against England's power or the inglorious policy of Louis Philippe's ministry. The "hidden nerve" of that ministry Tocqueville defined as procrastination. And it was perhaps partly his irritation at the success of this procrastination that made him willing to kindle the fires of national feeling. One learns other interesting details from Dr. Lawlor's study, for instance, that Tocqueville at one time thought of composing an atlas. One does not achieve a picture of Tocqueville's development and life. Even the political issues are not treated definitively, because of our present inability to use the Tocqueville archives while they are being edited under the International Commission in Paris. Dr. Lawlor has made an effective use of the

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Moniteur and the Parisian press and has uncovered at least one hitherto neglected speech by her subject. The Beaumont edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* and the volumes thus far published under the direction of J. Peter Mayer for the new edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* are drawn on at many points. The style of this study varies from the plain to the perceptive; and one detects only a very occasional error of transcription or proofreading. When Dr. Lawlor realizes her plan to publish a comparable monograph on Tocqueville's participation as a deputy in the domestic issues of 1837–1848, still another gap in our knowledge will be closed. Yet the definitive life of Alexis de Tocqueville remains evidently still beyond our grasp.

Yale University G. W. Pierson

PARTIES AND POLITICS IN MODERN FRANCE. By *Richard Barron*. Introduction by *Charles Micaud*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. c. 1959. Pp. xi, 213. $4.50.) The form in which this book appears will add little to the reputation of either author or publisher. A reviewer is left to wonder how a book on French politics could possibly be permitted to contain such misspelled names (among others) as Verenne, Doumerque, Bounefous, Diat, Marras, Souvaraene, Boudet, Plevin, Flimlin, Mendez-France, Jules Lamaître, Marius Mouet, etc., etc. The journalist Rémy Roure appears as Remy Rourke in the introduction where the author acknowledges his gratitude for a number of personal interviews. Only a testy, carping critic would single out a catalogue of misspellings and misprints for comment, but there is a limit to one's patience. If it be thought that these errors can be blamed on the publisher, as much cannot be said of another egregious fault of the book, the documentation, which falls far below any conventional standards. Notes, euphemistically termed "references," abound but they are employed overwhelmingly to add material that the author did not know how to work into the text and of which he did not wish the world deprived; the kind of documentation one would desire is almost nonexistent. The contents themselves are not worth the irritation the book causes the reader. They add little that cannot be found in a number of French handbooks on political parties and contribute far less than several existing studies in English of politics in post-1945 France with which the author is not even fully conversant. The writer's intentions were noble, his interest in France and French affairs seems genuine, and occasionally he comes through with a sympathetic insight into some facet of French political life, but the inadequacies and shallow judgments overshadow any virtues the book possesses. A perceptive study by a political scientist, as promised in the introduction and preface, of "the doctrine, program, organization, clientele and campaign techniques of each of the major French parties" would be welcome, but this is not such a study.

Duke University Joel Colton

BALTIAN HISTORIA. By *Vilho Niitemaa*. [Historiallinen Kirjasto, Volume XVI.] (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 1959. Pp. 421. [1,000 Fmk.]) Finnish scholarly interest in the northern regions of the Baltic goes back to 1894 when A. H. Snellman-Virkkunen's doctoral thesis *Itämeren Suomalaiset itsenäisyytensä aikana* was published. In the years following a number of specialized studies appeared from such scholars as A. R. Cederberg and Arvi Korhonen. Dr. Niitemaa's *Baltian historia* is, however, the first general account by a Finnish historian to deal with the development of Estonia and Latvia within the larger framework of the entire Baltic area. It thus replaces the out-of-date work of Leonid Arbusow, *Grundriss der Geschichte Liv-, Est-, und Kurlands* (1918), and offers a broader sweep than the more recent history of Estonia by M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas (*Viron historia* [1944]). Niitemaa,

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who is professor of history at Turku University, is well qualified to write a history of the northern Baltic. He has done considerable research and writing in this field, especially on Old Livonia and its town trade during the Middle Ages. He appears to have made excellent use of a wide variety of documentary and published sources in the preparation of the present volume; its bibliography runs to some 430 titles, many representing studies published since 1940. More than two-thirds of *Baltian historia* is devoted to the period prior to 1710. While there is a bewildering array of wars and shifting political alignments, the author achieves a much-needed focus by emphasizing the social and economic developments in each of the five periods into which he has divided this major part of his work. The various and complex forces, internal and external, that shaped Baltic history are skillfully identified and described. About a third of the book deals with the Russian period, 1710–1917, independent Estonia and Latvia, and the events during and after the last world war. While necessarily sketchy, the major developments are carefully and accurately outlined. *Baltian historia* has been hailed by European reviewers as a major contribution, a judgment that is easily understood and shared. It deserves an audience larger than the Finnish reading public, and one hopes that arrangements for an English translation will be made.

Heidelberg College JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

FRIHANDELSPROBLEMET I DANMARK 1855–1863: EN UNDERSØGELSE AF 1863-TARIFFENS TILBLIVELSE. By *Kjeld Winding*. (Copenhagen: Dansk Videnskabs Forlag. 1959. Pp. 378.) This doctoral dissertation suffers from the same flaws as its American prototypes: details, meticulous attention to fine points, and unreadability. It concentrates so closely on the free trade fight that it spends only lines on Dano-German troubles over the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein or their relationship to the free trade problem. The two crises of 1857–1858 and 1862–1863 receive even scantier notice. But Winding's devotion to his subject of the free trade movement in Denmark is to be noted, if not praised. The chief architect of the free trade law was Count Vilhelm Carl von Sponneck, although like-minded free traders, one of whom imagined himself a Danish Gladstone, wished credit. The attitudes of industrialists and businessmen varied toward the reform, with the former demanding retention of protectionism and the latter wishing free entry of goods to increase their sales in Denmark. Danish farmers, either silent or voiceless, though the most likely to be affected, seemed indifferent, but the members of the customs administration complained bitterly about the difficulties of collecting duties and controlling smuggling. The crisis over the duchies and war with Germany delayed the law until after these great events; even then it was modified to suit the conservative protectionists. A copious bibliography and notes, the author's extensive search for materials, the charts, and a brief index complement a work that is thorough and highly useful for the specialist on Danish economic history. Those who are unable to read Danish may consult the summary in English where a brief and excellent account is given of the problem of free trade in Denmark.

Occidental College RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY: ITS TOPOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHERS. By *Gerald Strauss*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 197. $5.00.) This erudite monograph, done originally as a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, provides further evidence of the rising interest in septentrional humanism. Although the topographical-historical genre developed in the sixteenth

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century in the homeland of Baedeker so combined geographical and historiographical interests that some recapitulation in this volume of the work of Joachimsen and others on humanist historical writing is inevitable and necessary, this study presents the first full account of the specifically geographical concerns of the German humanists. Appropriately enough, it was Conrad Celtis, the archhumanist, who led the author to an interest in this subject, for it was Celtis, "the most determining figure in German humanism," with his project for a *Germania illustrata,* who gave the first stimulus, after the ambivalent influence of Italians like Aeneas and Biondo, toward the patriotic study of the land and its history. Like Josef Nadler, who found the approach to literary history according to the *Stämme* fruitful, the author discusses the chorographies on the basis of the territories represented, finding those of the Swiss most attractive, forceful, and informative. Strauss works conscientiously and patiently through the weighty tomes of such renowned figures as Brant, Aventine, and Cuspinian as well as of such obscure polyhistors as Thomas Kantzow, Guler von Weineck, and Albrecht von Bonstetten. Against the tradition of Ptolemy and Strabo, patrons of the scientific view, the narrative cosmographers like Sebastian Franck, Johann Rauw, and especially Sebastian Münster, altered the direction of cosmography, making it primarily descriptive geography. It is their scope of interest and curiosity, not their profundity, that is most impressive. These sixteenth-century topographers illustrate what is evident also in historiography, philology, and other disciplines, namely, the continuity of the learned tradition from northern humanism through the Reformation era. The author of this scholarly volume finds their fundamental outlook optimistic for their fatherland and for the world.

University of Missouri LEWIS W. SPITZ

OTTOMAN IMPERIALISM AND GERMAN PROTESTANTISM, 1521–1555. By *Stephen A. Fischer-Galati.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 43.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 142. $4.00.) This succinct monograph selects for comprehensive treatment out of the multiple factors responsible for the success of Protestantism in Germany the influence of the Turks on Central European affairs from the year of the Diet of Worms, 1521, to the year of the Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555. The importance of the Ottoman-Hapsburg conflict for the course of the Reformation has, of course, not been lost on historians. The special merit of this study lies in its systematic treatment of the subject within the broader framework of East-West relations. The major thesis is that the consolidation, expansion, and legitimizing of Lutheranism in Germany by 1555 should be attributed to Ottoman imperialism more than to any other single factor. The argument is impressive, although especially in view of the extensive periods during which the Turks were quiescent, some hesitancy would seem justifiable about assigning the Turkish impact absolute priority over other significant elements such as the popes' fear of the conciliar solution to which Charles was committed from 1526 on, the Emperor's involvement in Italy, the hostility of the French monarchs, and the long-established ascendancy of the territorial princes within the Empire, so that the suppression of convinced and cooperating princes would not have been assured even without the Turkish distraction. That the whole course of the Reformation might have been different had Charles and Ferdinand yielded priority to German affairs over the consolidation of their family inheritance is a sound conclusion. The central focus of this skillful account is on Germany. It would have heightened interest, however, to reveal at various junctures the role that militant Protestantism played in the Porte's calculations. There is a tendency

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in the book to view the Protestant states monolithically, without taking due account of the particularist interests that complicated their individual reactions to the alternate appeals for *beharrliche Hilfe* and Hapsburg threats.

University of Missouri LEWIS W. SPITZ

JOSEL VON ROSHEIM: BEFEHLSHABER DER JUDENSCHAFT IM HEILIGEN RÖMISCHEN REICH DEUTSCHER NATION. By *Selma Stern.* [Veröffentlichung des Leo-Baeck-Instituts.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. c. 1959. Pp. 277.) Published by the relatively new Leo Baeck Institute, a research organization that already has to its credit several important historical publications, this beautifully written biography presents the life and works of one of the most remarkable Jewish communal leaders before the Emancipation era. Although the dramatic career of the sixteenth-century "commander of Jewry in the Holy Roman Empire" had been described before, particularly in Ludwig Feilchenfeld's full-length biography written more than sixty years ago, Dr. Stern, a well-known authority on the history of the Jews in Germany, has succeeded in giving the reader new information as well as new insights. Before us emerges not only the intriguing personality of a Jewish businessman and indefatigable spokesman for his people before emperors (Maximilian I and Charles V), princes, and cities, both Catholic and Protestant, but also that of a pietist, religious thinker, even a mystic. Yet, with a fine sense for a political reality, Josel refused to become involved in the venturesome semimessianic and semidiplomatic negotiations between David Reubeni, the alleged representative of a remote Jewish kingdom beyond the seas, and the magnetic preacher Solomon Molcho with pope and emperor concerning an alliance between the Christian world and the Jewish people to open a two-front war on the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Josel was quite successful in persuading the leaders of the rebellious peasants to abstain from any attack on Jews. If Dr. Stern is not always able to draw a vivid picture of Josel's personality in action, this is entirely owing to the lack of "human interest" materials in the extant records, both published and unpublished. Even Josel's own diary records more the events of his time than his personal reactions to them. Nor is it surprising that Dr. Stern, despite her access to the archival data supplied by Feilchenfeld and others and some new documents found in several Central European repositories, had to leave many questions open or but tentatively resolved. For one example, she accepts Feilchenfeld's thesis that the semimilitary designation of *Befehlhsaber* of German Jewry was conferred upon Josel by the Jewish communities, and not by the imperial authorities, but she cannot offer any reason for this extraordinary choice. In fact, on one occasion, this title caused Josel considerable difficulties since it seemed to indicate military aspirations and, hence, lent some verisimilitude to the accusation of Jewish disloyalty in the Empire's struggle with the expansive Ottoman regime. It is to be hoped that this fine study will be made available before very long in an English translation.

Columbia University SALO W. BARON

L'ANTI-MACHIAVEL. By *Frederic II, roi de Prusse.* Edited by *Charles Fleischauer.* [Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, Volume V.] (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire; distrib. by Librairie E. Droz, Geneva. 1958. Pp. 382.) Practically all that most historians know about Frederick the Great's *Anti-Machiavelli* is Voltaire's disillusioned quip: "If Machiavelli had had a prince as disciple, the first thing that he would have recommended to him would have been to write against him." Charles Fleischauer's able edition helps us to know more, and historians should

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be grateful to him, for the genesis of the essay, and its two published versions offer a revealing insight into the formation of a king's mind, and into eighteenth-century rhetoric in general. It tells us what the young Prince thought he should think. Fleischauer's edition is based on the *Refutation du Prince de Machiavel,* Frederick's manuscript which Voltaire reviewed and revised for publication. It contains, in addition, Voltaire's many changes, large and small, that appear in the books published at The Hague in 1740; some of Frederick's drafts; the French edition of Machiavelli's *Prince* used by Frederick; and a helpful bibliography listing all the editions of the *Anti-Machiavelli* that appeared in the King's lifetime. All this is preceded by Fleischauer's comprehensive and scholarly introduction, which traces the essay's beginnings in 1738 in the Prince's correspondence with Voltaire, reveals the significance of Voltaire's innumberable improvements which throughout lifted the literary style and moral tone of the finished product, and records Voltaire's disappointment in the "philosophic and conquering king" after his invasion of Silesia in December 1740. Only two months before "Apollo turned into Mars," Voltaire had hopefully written to a friend: "I have every reason to hope that the king's conduct will vindicate the prince's *Anti-Machiavelli* in everything." It did, but in a manner directly opposed to Voltaire's expectations. Frederick's refutation of Machiavelli, read with care, turns out to be a justification of power politics. Some of these implications Voltaire caught—after all, he studied the manuscript more thoroughly than anyone else. But unlike Machiavelli, whom Bacon praised for saying what people did instead of what they ought to do, Voltaire for all his acumen sometimes read not what was on a page but what he wanted to read on it. To see this self-deception at work is only one of the many virtues of the edition Fleischauer has given us.

Columbia University PETER GAY

DIE EINIGUNG ITALIENS IM URTEIL LIBERALER DEUTSCHER ZEITGENOSSEN: STUDIE ZUR INNEREN GESCHICHTE DES KLEINDEUTSCHEN LIBERALISMUS. By *Ernst Portner.* [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Number 13.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1959. Pp. 194. DM 16.80.) This readable study makes a useful contribution to the history of Germany's unification and the German liberal movement. Probing through the leading liberal journals, the *Preussische Jahrbücher* and the *Grenzboten,* the publications and proceedings of the *Nationalverein,* and the letters and writings of Treitschke, it shows that Italy's unification did not inspire the German liberals to greater efforts of their own in order to attain a united Germany. They acknowledged, not without condescension, the concerted national effort of the Italians, but with the possible exception of Treitschke they doubted that their countrymen would emulate the Italian example. Their great interest in Cavour indicates that they placed their hopes for unification in the emergence of a strong statesman rather than in a popular movement. In fact, they viewed Italy's unification primarily as a shift in the balance of power that opened up new diplomatic opportunities to offset the strength of France. The book thus provides some interesting material in support of the conclusions of Schnabel, Bussmann, and others that German liberalism was weakened by its inherent limitations and uncertainties long before it was crushed by Bismarck. Dr. Portner, however, does not agree with this viewpoint; he believes that German liberalism in the 1860's was as liberty-minded as it was unity-minded. Cavour, he maintains, won the special acclaim of the German liberals because of his strict observation of liberal principles. Actually there is little discussion of these concerns in the material he presents, and in a curious *non sequitur* he concludes approvingly: "Tired of mere theorizing, the nobler minds among the German

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patriots longed for a great deed which would raise the German states once more to a factor of political significance in Europe. What was at issue was the primacy of morally inspired action over apolitical esthetic concerns, of political aspirations over social interests." This was indeed what Treitschke and other liberals had said at the time, but it refutes the thesis that German liberalism was as concerned with liberty as it was with unity. This error, of course, does not detract from the factual value of Portner's study.

Ohio State University ANDREAS DORPALEN

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GERMAN DYE INDUSTRY. By *John Joseph Beer*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XLIV.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 168.) This monograph appeared coincidentally on the centenary of Perkin and Sons' first commercial production of aniline purple in 1857. Mr. Beer's primary interest is in synthetic dyes. Hence the pioneer work of distinguished organic chemists such as Liebig, William Henry Perkin, Hofmann, Bayer, Griess, and Duisberg in the discovery and production of more and more varied aniline dyestuffs acquires special significance. The triumph of German dye manufacturers over their British, French, and Swiss rivals is chiefly attributed to the aggressive German promotion of chemical research, notably on the part of the state. Thus the German universities and polytechnic institutes were quick to train research oriented chemists sought by the leading color manufacturers. Beer also stresses the role of a superior German patent policy and the influence that the chemical trade associations exercised on the award of patents, the determination of tariffs, and the establishment of the quasi-public Kaiser Welhelm-Gesellschaft. Appropriately, the work concludes with an account of industry combinations, notably the international Alizarin agreements of 1881, the two giant domestic dye cartels organized in 1904, and the I. G. Farbenindustrie, set up in 1925. Beer is a meticulous, resourceful, and imaginative scholar. His work is well organized, carefully documented, and lucidly written, and the extensive personal data he includes lend the study both depth and color. This long overdue and highly instructive monograph is really a study in the evolution of German corporate enterprise in general and of the I. G. Farbenindustrie in particular. If his persuasive enthusiasm for I. G. Farbenindustrie or the cartels that preceded it leads him to exaggerate their efficiency and overlook their abuses, Beer, at long last, brings us much closer to a dispassionate evaluation of that highly controversial supertrust and the character and spirit of industrial monopoly that inspired it.

Pennsylvania State University ALFRED G. PUNDT

OSWALD SPENGLER ALS POLITISCHER DENKER. By *Ernst Stutz*. (Bern: Francke Verlag. c. 1958. Pp. 279. 16.80 fr. S.) Stutz warns us that in part he rejects Spengler's basic philosophical and political concepts. Objectivity precludes his becoming merely negative. Nor is he hagiographical. He has no ulterior or subtle motive. Spengler's political theories and his encounter with political reality are impersonally presented so as to gain an insight into Germany's fateful years when the Nazis came to power. The analysis of Spengler's political ideas depends basically on the second volume of the *Untergang des Abendlandes* and all the minor works preceding and following it. The philosophical critique leans heavily on Spengler's doctoral dissertation on Heraclitus and the essay *Pessimismus?* In a workmanlike, if pedestrian, manner Stutz develops Spengler's notions of eternal recurrence, with a judicious bow toward Nietzsche. He describes Spengler's concept of culture and civilization (but he does not

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know A. L. Kroeber's *Style and Civilizations* [1957] which belabors Spengler's use of homology and its metaphorical application to history). Though Hitler is not mentioned until the last third of the book, the preceding analyses attempt to foreshadow Spengler's relations with Nazism and Hitler. The result is less than unequivocally successful. When Stutz himself elaborates on Spengler's call for unmasking democracy and equating democracy with "ochlocracy and anarchy," when Spengler considers freedom of press and assembly as well as liberalism logical steps toward Bolshevism and the "dictatorship of a megalopolitan proletariat," and when he denigrates the Weimar Republic and asserts that Marxism, liberalism, and democracy are completely un-German ideals, are not the Nazi party's basic propaganda notions adumbrated? True, Spengler rejects racialism as historically fatuous and unrealistic and cites history's use of Napoleon, Disraeli, and Catherine II, but he accepts fascist ideas and tactics. Stutz quotes impressive Spenglerian aphorisms. That does not prevent his exposing Spengler's failure as a historical prophet, for instance, in predicting the outcome of World War I. He exposes Spengler's total misjudgment of the national potentialities of America, Soviet Russia, Japan, France, Italy, England, and Germany.

University of Houston LOUIS KESTENBERG

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918–1945. Series C (1933–1937). Volume III, THE THIRD REICH: FIRST PHASE, JUNE 14, 1934–MARCH 31, 1935. [Department of State Publication 6848.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1959. Pp. lxxii, 1157. $4.25.) Unlike its predecessor, this volume focuses on a few main themes—the effects of the Röhm purge and of the Austrian Nazi *Putsch;* the Eastern Pact, the Saar plebiscite, the announcement of the expansion of the German army, and the Anglo-German discussions shortly thereafter. The serious weakening of Germany's position in the summer of 1934 is obvious. Only Kemal Pasha, recalling how both he and the Bolshevists had got rid of their own *alte Kämpfer,* viewed Hitler's purge of June 30 with admiration; elsewhere, there was unconcealed shock, mingled with the belief that Germany was in major trouble internally. The Austrian uprising in July and the assassination of Dollfuss strengthened both these attitudes abroad. Italy, being most affected, recoiled most sharply, and the uneasy calm following the Hitler-Mussolini meeting in June (its details still vague in this volume) was destroyed. The extensive material on the Austrian *Putsch* seems to indicate that it was planned essentially by the Austrian Nazis and their Munich outpost under Habicht. How far the German NSDAP was involved is not clear here. The Austrian Legion was disbanded; Papen, snatched from the Röhm holocaust, was received in Vienna (he wrote) as in a churchyard, and temporary quiet replaced terrorism in Austria. The assassination of Barthou and King Alexander was a decisive factor in averting some of the general hostility. Laval was more flexible than his predecessor, and Ethiopia was beginning to distract Mussolini's attention somewhat from Austria. The relatively decorous handling of the Saar plebiscite, and the German victory, reduced tension. Hitler's reintroduction of universal service in March produced another explosion; but in the prevailing weary willingness to grasp any straw, Simon and Eden nevertheless went to Berlin (the report of their talks covers nearly forty pages) to negotiate in friendly tones. Old familiar themes indeed recur—Poland and Danzig, the church, Czechoslovakia, the Reich's finances—but these, like relations with the Soviet Union, are wholly in the background of a period when Nazi Germany seemed to be hanging on literally by the skin of its teeth.

Harvard University REGINALD H. PHELPS

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DER BAU DES PANZERSCHIFFES "A" UND DER REICHSTAG. By *Wolfgang Wacker*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 11.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1959. Pp. 180. DM 18.) In early 1928 plans for a pocket battleship designed to exploit fully the naval limitations of the Versailles Treaty were approved by the Reichstag though opposed by the parties of the Left and delayed by the Reichsrat. Despite the SPD's campaign against the ship in the May election the new chancellor, Hermann Müller, and the other SPD members of the shaky *Ferienkabinett* agreed to commence construction in order to preserve the coalition. The SPD organization attacked Müller's decision and before yielding it had compelled its ministers to support a parliamentary motion to nullify their own cabinet decision. Based primarily on Reichstag debates, secondary sources, and newspaper accounts, Wacker's study of this controversy includes a somewhat overlong introductory discussion of the basic cleavage between the Left and the military establishment and a review of the then current arguments in favor of the ship's construction and modernization of the small German navy, with which the author is in basic agreement. The main section shows how the *Panzerschiff* controversy brought out all the factional and ideological conflicts within the SPD and contains a discussion of the constitutional problems of government by party organization in place of responsible ministerial government. This *Grundübel* of the Weimar system was never so evident as here where the author clearly shows us the elements of political stultification which rendered German parliamentary government unequal to its tasks in the succeeding four years.

Alexandria, Virginia JAMES G. MCDOWELL

MEMOIRS: TEN YEARS AND TWENTY DAYS. By *Karl Doenitz*. Translated by *R. H. Stevens* in collaboration with *David Woodward*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. c. 1959. Pp. 500. $6.00.) Admiral Doenitz' spirited account of his career as U-boat strategist, *Kriegsmarine* chieftain, and, for three chaotic weeks *Führer* of the disintegrating Third Reich ranks as the most informative German memoir of World War II. Based largely on his voluminous diary as *Befehlshaber der Unterseeboote,* this revealing work affords exceptional insights into U-boat command's operations and its aspirations of employing German resources more effectively against the Western maritime powers. While excoriating the irresponsibility of Hitler's prewar "balanced fleet" program, Doenitz advances the conviction that commerce warfare might nevertheless have been waged successfully if U-boat construction had been increased radically during 1940–1941. The *Grossadmiral* appears reticent on clandestine U-boat development prior to 1935 and on employment of concentration camp prisoners in the Reich's wartime shipyards, yet his defense of his conduct of U-boat warfare commands respectful consideration. His lengthy discussion of German adherence to international law clearly ignores the practical impact of the *Athenia* incident upon world opinion and the British Admiralty. However, his vindication of his celebrated "*Laconia* order," forbidding rescue of merchant ship survivors, gains additional force with passing years, owing to the continued refusal of responsible United States authorities to explain American involvement in the *Laconia* affair. Notwithstanding the success of his wolf pack tactics, delineated in vivid combat narrative, Doenitz recognized at the peak of Allied shipping losses late in 1942 that American ship and aircraft production doomed his sophisticated strategy of tonnage warfare. Throughout ensuing months of faltering *Luftwaffe* assistance, laggard radar countermeasures, and prolonged delays in submarine construction, Doenitz steeled himself to intolerable losses in the knowledge that the U-*Waffe* alone could engage substantial Allied forces overseas, thereby diverting part of their strength from the Continent. Though cog-

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nizant of repeated U-boat failures against Allied invasion armadas, Doenitz shared Rommel's conviction that Operation "Overlord" had to be disrupted on the Channel beaches if certain defeat were to be avoided, a belief that neither could impress on Hitler. With the eastern front's collapse, Doenitz bent the *Kriegsmarine*'s remaining energies to evacuation of the Baltic, an operation that actually proved the most successful sea-borne withdrawal in modern history. Concern for additional millions of East German refugees clearly enough dominated the decisions of Doenitz' caretaker regime in May 1945, producing an attempt to negotiate a separate surrender with the Western powers and thereupon bringing his skeleton government into fatal collision with American determination to maintain Allied unity by enforcing a simultaneous cease fire on all fronts.

Smithsonian Institution PHILIP K. LUNDEBERG

DIE EINHEIT DEUTSCHLANDS: IHRE ERÖRTERUNG UND BEHANDLUNG AUF DEN KRIEGS- UND NACHKRIEGSKONFERENZEN, 1941–1949. DARSTELLUNG UND DOKUMENTATION. By *Ernst Deuerlein*. (Frankfurt am Main and Berlin: Alfred Metzner Verlag. 1957. Pp. 349.) The author of this volume, a Munich historian and publicist, might easily have written a sarcastic polemic about his subject. Instead, he has contributed a remarkably objective and carefully reasoned study of the debate over German unity in the wartime and postwar conferences. This is a clearly written account but lacks brilliance of style and dramatic effect. While it offers no new facts, neither does it contain major omissions or inaccuracies. To his narrative Deuerlein adds useful maps and charts, an extensive interpretative analysis, 378 source citations, the whole or more important parts of sixty skillfully chosen documents (two-thirds of them post-Potsdam in origin), a useful chronological table, and a bibliography that is more complete than any yet published in English. As his title indicates, it is with the issue of partition versus unity that the author is preoccupied. One would like to see his subject woven more constantly and more fully into the global war setting, but there is little to criticize on his fundamental approach to the central theme. Here readers can learn how the Big Three, after much discussion, found it impossible to agree on the dismemberment of Germany, and how the dissolution of that group's unity resulted in the very breaking up of Germany that they had been unable to approve definitively as policy. Deuerlein recounts this with scholarly restraint and views the question in its broad and complicated historical context. Furthermore, he not only knows but says more than once that the German Reich was led to destruction by the foreign policy its government pursued in the 1930's. Thus he can disapprove of the policy of unconditional surrender without writing a diatribe against it; discuss the Morgenthau Plan without national passion, while making it plain that he considers it deplorably shortsighted; and reconstruct with few adjectives Stalin's steady determination to ruin or rule Germany. The author rightly takes the Western leaders to task more for their lack of policy than for any determination on their part to destroy Germany. He believes the British and Americans at Potsdam "capitulated" to Stalin's resolute demands, and he credits Stalin with the formal abandonment of the policy of partition in 1945. Both views are unacceptable to the reviewer. But Deuerlein makes a good case for another argument: that Stalin gave up the fight for partition in 1945 because Roosevelt's talk at Yalta of withdrawing American forces from Europe within two years had opened Stalin's eyes to a broader objective, Soviet mastery over a united Germany. In treating postwar developments the author has properly kept his narrative brief, letting the documents speak more fully. German readers have been offered a

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fuller and equally objective account by Günter Moltmann of many matters treated in this volume.

Tulane University JOHN L. SNELL

DIE GEBURT EINES NEUEN DEUTSCHLAND, 1945–1949: DIE ANTIFASCHISTISCH-DEMOKRATISCHE UMWÄLZUNG UND DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER DDR. By *Stefan Doernberg*. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1959. Pp. 538.) Stefan Doernberg is an instructor in the Institute for Social Science of the Central Committee of the SED party, and this book served as his doctoral dissertation. At first glance the book appears to be a sound and careful study. There are 1,148 footnotes, forty-two pages of bibliography, and an index of nineteen pages. But in spite of this scholarly apparatus, the author has adhered tenaciously to the "party line" and as a result the study is very one sided and unsatisfactory. The subtitle (The Anti-Fascist Democratic Revolution and the Rise of the DDR) is more revealing than the main title because it suggests the nature of the study. The book opens with a long chapter on "The Liberation of the German People from the Fascist Yoke" in which the author seems reluctant to mention the fact that the Western powers were in the war. Doernberg then launches into a rather detailed analysis of the main features of the "anti-Fascist democratic revolution" in the Soviet zone of Germany. He centers his attention on the work of de-Nazification, the liquidation of the great estates and of "monopoly capitalism," the expropriation of the Nazi war criminals, and the construction of the new, socialist order. The author contends that the "anti-Fascist democratic revolution" was indigenous and spontaneous, and he assures the reader that the Russians never intervened except to aid in carrying out the clearly expressed wishes of the German people. Doernberg's strict adherence to the "party line" leads him along some strange paths. For example, Stalin, who one suspects played a tremendous role in the events that are being discussed, is mentioned only once in the body of the text, while Lenin, who had been dead more than twenty years when these events transpired, is mentioned more than fifty times. The author, moreover, keenly aware that the "line" has been known to change, makes an obvious effort to protect himself by speaking through Ulbricht, Grotewohl, and Pieck when he suspects that he may be dealing with dangerous points. Defective as this study is, it is not without value. It provides us with a fairly detailed account of events in the Soviet zone of Germany from 1945 to 1950 as seen and interpreted by a good SED party member.

University of North Carolina CARL HAMILTON PEGG

OSTBRANDENBURG UNTER POLNISCHER VERWALTUNG. By *Richard Breyer*. [Ostdeutschland unter fremder Verwaltung, 1945–1955, Number 4; herausgegeben vom Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrat.] (Frankfurt am Main: Alfred Metzner Verlag. 1959. Pp. xvi, 167. DM 9.60.) This series on the various regions of Germany now under Polish administration uses a handbook format. Sections on the administrative structure, population changes, agriculture, industry and trade, and cultural and religious institutions are packed full of concrete detail from current Polish sources. This study, like its predecessors on East Prussia and East Pomerania, should be used in conjunction with the general reference work on East Germany before 1945, *Die Ostgebiete des Deutschen Reiches* of the J. G. Herder-Forschungsrat (1955; 4th ed. 1957). The territories of the Neumark, Niederlausitz, and the post-Versailles Grenzmark, lying east of the Oder-Neisse line, were first formed by the Poles into the relatively small *Ziemia Lubuska* (*Land* Lebus), but in 1954 were enlarged southeastward to include the industrial region of northern Lower Silesia. The region, now known as

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the *Województwo Zielona Góra* (*Wojewodschaft* Grünberg), comprised 743,000 inhabitants in June 1958, with a population density somewhat less than the already thinly populated counties of *Provinz Brandenburg*, east of the Oder before World War II. Breyer leaves little doubt in the reader's mind that Polish and Communist management has been deleterious to the region. His regular practice of quoting Polish criticism of the regime to show the system's evils produces a general tone of carping, which is of course quite consistent with the outspoken revisionism of the Herder-Forschungsrat. These are understandable features of the series. The implicit German nationalism and the refusal to mention Hitler and National Socialism, if understandable, are nevertheless saddening.

University of Nebraska ROBERT KOEHL

DER JUNGE MAXIMILIAN (1459–1482). By *Heinrich Fichtenau*. [Österreich Archiv.] (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. c. 1959. Pp. 50. DM 6.) Having done notable work on Charlemagne and the Carolingian gateway to medieval life, Fichtenau here offers a biographic fragment that bears on the Hapsburg entry into Western European affairs. He is concerned only with Maximilian's early development and leaves full biographical attention to others. Happily, Austrian scholars have now resumed work on that important, still lengthy, assignment. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Hapsburg dynasty seemingly sensed the overseas opportunities to come and it began to probe for position in Western Europe. Charles the Bold of Burgundy was tempted by an Empire affiliation and territorial strengthening along the upper Rhine. The Hapsburg emperor contemplated the economic significance of the Burgundian lowlands and hoped to get ten thousand Burgundian horsemen for the war against the Turks. The betrothal of their children, Maximilian and Maria, promised to symbolize and fix the conjunction of such state interest. This marriage was finally effected, but only after Charles the Bold was killed and the Burgundian negotiations with the Empire substantially negated. Maximilian then tried to retain the new acquisition. Like his father, he too held to realistic calculation amid Burgundian splendor and romanticism. His court scholars compiled dynastic, rather than Arthurian, history. He melted down the last plate to support the campaign against the French. And this "last knight" dismounted at the critical moment to lead his foot soldiers in victory against that same enemy. But his spouse died and the Burgundian estates soon withdrew their support of the Hapsburg prince. Now they favored French leadership, and peace terms reflected the new orientation. Maximilian could not secure this initial Hapsburg bid for the lower Rhine. But he and his dynasty learned the cross currents of Western European politics, and family ties and claims were established.

Wittenberg University HELMUT HAEUSSLER

METTERNICH ET SON TEMPS. By *G. de Bertier de Sauvigny*. (Paris: Hachette. c. 1959. Pp. 272. 900 fr.) Father de Bertier de Sauvigny, a professor in the Institut Catholique in Paris and at the University of Notre Dame, is, at forty, one of the leading French historians. His first book, largely written from family papers, *Comte Ferdinand de Bertier et l'énigme de la Congrégation* (1948), is widely regarded as the best work on the Bourbon Restoration published in the last quarter century. He has followed this with a number of articles and books, including a brilliant general study, *La Restauration* (1955). The present work, published in the centenary year of Metternich's death, is based on extended research in public and private archives. It allows Metternich to present his own portrait in a series of excerpts from his writings put to-

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gether with a very acute commentary by Bertier. Over a third of the texts cited have never been published before. The result is a vivid and firsthand picture of Metternich, his principles, and his methods. In this account Metternich becomes more understandable; it shows him to have been more shrewd and more flexible than he is usually portrayed, and with a greater sense of humor than he is ordinarily thought to have had. Metternich's estimate of Napoleon proves to be one of the most penetrating the reviewer has ever seen; many of his other character studies show extraordinary insight. All in all, this work is the best short introduction to Metternich now available, and it should be translated into English and German.

Oberlin College FREDERICK B. ARTZ

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE PRESS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOLOGNA. By *Curt F. Bühler.* [Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, Number 7.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame. 1958. Pp. 109.) Fifty years ago Raimondo Ambrosini compiled an alphabetical "Indice degli incunabuli bolognesi" in *L'Archiginnasio* (IV [1909], 50–58, 89–102). This list left much to be desired, and Mr. Bühler has rejected ninety-seven of Ambrosini's 507 entries as repetitious sixteenth-century imprints or non-Bolognese productions; and he has added 109 to make up for this loss. On the basis of his list (arranged by the "historical" method of Holtrop, Bradshaw, and Proctor) and his very extensive knowledge of prototypography, Bühler has put together the story of the press in fifteenth-century Bologna with special attention to relations with the university. He has analyzed the scope and content of books printed in the Emilian capital, the authors, the printers and presses, and their relative productivity. The history of three decades of printing in fifteenth-century Bologna provides a well-documented chapter in the history of the transitional period between the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Comparable studies for other major cultural centers, taking full advantage of recent advances in bibliographical scholarship, would be of considerable value.

University of Kentucky Library LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

CARTEGGI DI FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI. Volume IX (14 LUGLIO 1526–11 SETTEMBRE 1526). Edited by *Pier Giorgio Ricci.* [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Volume XXXIX.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1959. Pp. 278. L. 3,000.) Great was Guicciardini's dismay when he was told that the armies of the Church were to retreat across the River Po in September of 1526. As pontifical lieutenant, this experienced papal civil servant helped to manage the affairs of the ill-fated Holy League that had been founded at Cognac in May of the same year. The purpose of this alliance was to restore Francesco Maria Sforza to the duchy of Milan. His deposition by the imperialists, on the pretext of conspiracy, had aroused the fears of Venice and Rome. Both of these powers wanted to engage the imperial forces even before the league's mercenaries were assembled. From the beginning the pontifical lieutenant was confronted with insurmountable obstacles. His *Carteggi* reveal that the signatories to the conventions of Cognac failed to honor their military obligations and that there was a lack of cooperation between the allies that was to prove to be their undoing. Quarrels arose among the captains and precious time was lost. The prestige of the league waned and diplomacy proved to be no substitute for action. Despite Guicciardini's remarkable insight into the character of the Duke of Urbino, he was unable to cope with the mercurial personality of this intractable ally. His continued efforts to bolster the flagging courage of Clement VII were to be without consequence. His deep conviction that the enemy could be easily overcome because

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they were "few in number and had little money" fell on deaf ears. He came to see that this undertaking which had once seemed "easy and secure" was now "difficult and dangerous," since "the will not to win" had settled like a cloud over the papal camp. In a letter to one of his Florentine friends, Guicciardini related that Machiavelli had come to camp and after surveying the situation, had found it to be "corropta" and this prompted him to laugh at human folly which was beyond repair. This was not Guicciardini's view and up to the last he retained a romantic confidence in the possibility of victory and a strong commitment to an Italy free of the imperial scourge. Pier Giorgio Ricci has meticulously edited the *Carteggi* in the great tradition of Germanic philology. Parts of this correspondence have been published before by Canestrini, Ruscelli, Wirz, and others. Now, for the first time, the letters written between July 14, and September 11, 1526, are presented in their entirety. Their usefulness to the general reader and specialist might have been increased, however, if the editor had annotated this collection.

Western Reserve University MARVIN B. BECKER

THE FIRST PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONIST: FILIPPO MICHELE BUONARROTI (1761–1837). A BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY. By *Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 38.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 205. $4.50.) This thoughtful statement proposes to evaluate the spate of recently published books and articles devoted to the life and influence of Buonarroti. Miss Eisenstein's work rests largely upon her ability to cull the literature critically and then to shape her own thought into a convincing pattern. After an exhaustive examination of the works of Armando Saitta, Pia Rosa Onnis, Alessandro Galante Garrone, to mention the mainstays, she turned to the periodicals, Italian and French, where Buonarroti's importance has, in the last decades, received editorial emphasis. Whether, as she claims, her man was the first professional revolutionist or not is secondary to the critical evaluation of the literature about him and her insights into the historiographical questions raised by the rather striking attention paid to him since the trail-blazing work of Georges Weill in the *Revue historique* in 1901. Why the "sudden mobilization" of scholars around a subject whom the last century neglected? Certain easy answers come quickly to mind. In the anti-Fascist protest certain Italian scholars chose to study the French Revolution where they related Jacobinism to the *risorgimento* and incidentally "found" Buonarroti. Meanwhile in France the Robespierrists learned that the Italian who was made a French citizen by the Convention dearly loved Robespierre so they wanted to know more about this man of exquisite taste. Finally, socialists studied their antecedents. To these reasons, and others, Miss Eisenstein adds her own explanation. "Despite the lack of more specific information than that given above, there is enough, in my opinion, to state bluntly that probably a most important factor—and hitherto an unmentioned one—contributing to the mobilization of scholarly energy around the figure of Buonarroti was the desire of the Italian Communist Party to produce a 'native son' who could be as closely identified as Mazzini with the Risorgimento but whose position could be more easily adapted to the needs of the party line." This is not Miss Eisenstein's sole insight though it may well be the most important. Her work provides a valuable point of departure for the study of early nineteenth-century radicalism, and, though it is more and less than a biography of Buonarroti, readers will see the professional revolutionist at work and learn where to find the details of the life.

Northwestern University RICHARD M. BRACE

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MEMORIE, 1833–1859. By *Giovanni Baldasseroni.* Edited by *Renato Mori.* [Studi e Documenti di Storia del Risorgimento, Volume XXXVIII.] (Florence: Felice Le Monnier. 1959. Pp. xxx, 259. L. 2,000.) Renato Mori has rendered service by editing the unpublished memoirs of Giovanni Baldasseroni, the moderately conservative president of the council of ministers of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany during most of the post-1849 Restoration. He has included a critical introductory essay and explanatory footnotes. Baldasseroni composed his memoirs over a five-year period after 1863; thereafter he wrote his more eulogistic *Leopoldo II Granduca di Toscana e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1871). Baldasseroni's insistence upon efficient administration produced fiscal honesty, improvements in the port of Leghorn, and expansion of some institutions of higher education. Under strong Austrian pressure, he could not prevent abrogation of the short-lived Tuscan Constitution in 1851; yet he preserved substantial toleration, which benefited Tuscany during this transition period. The memoirs confirm his particularism and inability to discern clearly the nationalistic trends.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

DAS KONSTANZER KONZIL UND DAS KÖNIGLICHE PATRONATSRECHT IN UNGARN. By *Elemér Mályusz.* [Studia Historica, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Number 18.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1959. Pp. 120.) It is manifestly not easy these days to be a historian in a people's democracy. Previously, before one could launch into his subject, he had to make an obeisance in the direction of Marxist theory, no matter how far removed this might be from that which he happened to be dealing. This was a transparent and unsatisfactory procedure. It appears that things have changed for the better. Now conclusions must be in consonance with Marxism-Leninism. In consequence, at the end of an otherwise unexceptional study of certain aspects of the Council of Constance, Mr. Mályusz informs us that the most important result of the Council was the appearance of a clerical middle class. Apart from this little tidbit, Mályusz offers a solid piece of work. He begins with a real surprise by producing, from the archive of the Slovak town of Prešov (Eperjes), the text of the compromise concluded between the Emperor Sigismund and the cardinals on September 19, 1417. This agreement was frequently alluded to, most notably in the fundamental Magyar law code, the Werböczy *Tripartitum* of 1514, but since no text was known in modern times, its existence has been doubted. The text reproduced here, which is undoubtedly authentic, makes it clear that Sigismund agreed to postpone the question of reform in favor of the papal election in return for the promise of unlimited patronage in Hungary. The remainder of the book is devoted to an agreeable, if by no means new, discussion of the later part of the Council. There is a Russian summary.

Colorado College PAUL P. BERNARD

THE COMMUNIST SUBVERSION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1938–1948: THE FAILURE OF COEXISTENCE. By *Josef Korbel.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 258. $5.00.) Josef Korbel, professor of international relations at the University of Denver and formerly head of Jan Masaryk's cabinet in the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has written a well-documented story of the Communist coup that destroyed the Czechoslovak Republic in June 1948. He relates the history of the Communist party in Czechoslovakia from the foundation of the genuine democracy in 1918 under Thomas Garrigue Masaryk and reveals the decisive pressure and dictation of the Soviet Union in the leadership and policies of the party, and, after 1945, in the internal affairs of the Republic as he carefully traces the opportunistic shifts and reversals in the policies of the two Communist parties. The tragic decade

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from Munich in September 1938 to June 7, 1948, includes six years of Nazi occupation and terror then three years of Communist danger and intrigue to President Beneš' abdication on June 7, 1948. The author summarizes the nature of the volume in the preface: "This book is an attempt to present a case study of a thoroughly democratic nation, Czechoslovakia, which embraced coexistence as a method of resolving the bitter clash of democratic and communist forces within its own borders. The results were tragic to all lovers of freedom." The author gives a sympathetic though critical treatment of Beneš, whose long experience had led him to believe that good relations with both the Soviet Union and the Western nations were essential to the interests and independence of Czechoslovakia. A few days before his death Beneš said, "My greatest mistake was that I refused to believe that even Stalin lied to me cynically both in 1935 and later, and that his assurances to me and to Masaryk were an intentional deceit." The author concludes that "the democratic method proved to be ineffective against the method of violence." For an understanding of how international Soviet Communism worked to destroy the democratic institutions of an advanced people in a strategically weak location this book is a necessity.

Macalester College HUNTLEY DUPRE

KARAMZIN'S MEMOIR ON ANCIENT AND MODERN RUSSIA: A TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS. By *Richard Pipes.* [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 33.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 266. $5.50.) Both the translation of Karamzin's *Memoir* and the Russian text (published separately and also edited by Richard Pipes) are presented by Pipes to illumine the conservative tradition in modern Russian history. Considering Karamzin's role in the development of modern Russian literary prose, the provision of a Russian text is a valuable documentation of Pipes's analysis of Karamzin's conception of Russian national culture. The author's introductory essay points out, what is too easily overlooked in liberal historical treatment of modern Russia, that the Russian monarchy "was traditionally a dynamic force, determined to reform and reshape society." But Karamzin belonged to a gentry class that not only considered itself the vehicle of national culture but enjoyed freedom and security under the monarchy by a tacit, if not constitutional, division of administrative function accomplished during the reign of Catherine II. He supported the monarchy within that framework. Karamzin's interpretation of social and economic developments as consequences of political action is a suggestive forerunner of Soviet practice. His defense of class interest in the support of the institution of serfdom, seen in context, leads Pipes to comment: "One may well contend that Russia's political disintegration in the second half of the nineteenth century was in no small measure due to the excessive administrative responsibility assumed by the monarchy when it abolished the gentry's authority over the bonded population." Pipes's essay offers a good example of the current justification (in the Miltonian sense) of conservatism by historians. This is not to say that Pipes necessarily has written as a conservative; author's bias is singularly lacking in the treatment of Karamzin's conservative outlook—an achievement the more commendable in a book where somewhat over half the material consists of Pipes's introduction and his notes and comments. Students should be grateful both for the author's excellent essay and the fluent translation.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

THE RUSSIANS IN ETHIOPIA: AN ESSAY IN FUTILITY. By *Czesław Jeśman.* (London: Chatto and Windus. 1958. Pp. 159. 25*s.*) In this interesting and useful book Jeśman uses the scanty resources in the major European languages to tell the story of

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Russian expeditions, missions, and adventurers in Ethiopia from 1877 to the end of the czarist regime. No important new facts are discovered, but the author shows that Menelik understood the forces he was manipulating and he used Russia as a make-weight in his diplomatic struggles with the other powers. Jeśman reveals how the unclear goals and mixed motives of the visitors were shaped by wishful thinking and by ignorance of conditions in the African kingdom. His attempt to uncover the moods and forces in the homeland that led to Russian interest in Ethiopia is adequate but not completely successful. The book is marred by the use of the word "Slavophile" where "Panslav" would be correct.

East Texas State College MARTIN KILCOYNE

THE SOVIET-YUGOSLAV CONTROVERSY, 1948–58: A DOCUMENTARY RECORD. Edited by *Robert Bass* and *Elizabeth Marbury*. Introduction by *Hans Kohn*. (*New York: Prospect Books for the East Europe Institute, New York.* 1959. Pp. xix, 225. $3.95.) THE SECOND SOVIET-YUGOSLAV DISPUTE: FULL TEXT OF MAIN DOCUMENTS, APRIL–JUNE 1958, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ANALYSIS. Edited by *Václav Beneš, Robert F. Byrnes,* and *Nicholas Spulber*. [Slavic and East European Series, Volume XIV.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications. 1959. Pp. xlii, 272. $3.50.) The most interesting, most important, and most publicized controversy among Communists since Trotsky has been, of course, the now on, now off, now on again dispute between Tito and the Kremlin. Two groups of American scholars have recently labored to make the chief documents of this controversy readily available in English. Though neither group knew of the other's plans and much duplication resulted, the volumes are in some ways complementary. The first publication, edited by Robert Bass and Elizabeth Marbury, covers the whole ten-year period from 1948 to 1958, while the volume edited by Václav Beneš, Robert Byrnes, and Nicolas Spulber is limited primarily to one year, 1958. The chief differences in coverage results from inclusion by Bass of thirteen documents dealing with the period 1948–1956, including the Stalin-Tito letters published earlier by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and also four items covering the quarrel over Hungary. For the 1958 dispute, arising out of the publication of the Draft Program of the Yugoslav League of Communists, the Beneš collection is of course more complete. While it contains eight documents on this period not included in Bass, the latter work includes four documents not published by Beneš. It is a pity that the two groups of editors could not have combined their efforts so that all these documents might have been made available in one volume, without duplication. Although both books contain fascinating polemical and theoretical material, they also have defects that limit their usefulness as reference works. Bass, for example, generally fails to indicate the source or the translator of his documents, and many of his items are given in condensed form. While the Beneš volume always indicates its sources and prints most of the documents in full, it has other deficiencies. For one thing, it does not make clear which version of the Program of the Yugoslav League of Communists is reproduced. On page twenty-eight the reader is told that it is a "translation of the *draft* program," but on page ninety-five he reads that it is "the final version." Actually it appears to be a draft. But which draft?—the original draft circulated among Communist parties or the revised draft presented to the Seventh Congress? The arrangement of the items in the Indiana volume also seems illogical at times; certainly it is awkward to read an attack from *Jen min jih pao* on pages 131–135, but not come to the Yugoslav reply until page 219. If a prospective purchaser seeks documentation on the whole course of the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute from 1948 through 1958, he should buy the Bass collection.

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If he wants information chiefly on the dispute of 1958, the Indiana volume will serve him better. As for the specialist who is seriously interested in Soviet-Yugoslav relations, he—sad to relate—must buy both.

University of Virginia THOMAS T. HAMMOND

FAR EAST

A HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE FALL OF VIJAYANAGAR. By *K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.* (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 508. $3.20.) The period covered in this history is from about 600 B.C. to A.D. 1700. There are brief chapters on what little is known of prehistoric times and the racial background. The area is the Deccan, i.e., India south of the Vindhya mountain range. Since source material is scarce, the author has scrupulously availed himself of all existing remains, coins, artifacts, archaeological relics, and written resources, including reports of foreign visitors. Although the book is intended particularly for the nonspecialist, any Western reader not already familiar with Indian culture will find the going rough. Professor Sastri's style is clear and expressive, but the nature of the source material results in a proliferation of successive dynasties, intrigues, dates, and the unfamiliar names of rulers and courtiers. The book comes alive only at points where the author has sufficient evidence to give some account of political and economic theory and practice and social conditions. The opening chapters on "The Land in Relation to History" and "The Earliest Peoples and Cultures" assemble all of the geographic and anthropological evidence and theory in compact and very readable form. Chapters III–XII trace the succession of empires and, except for asides on social and administrative practice, offer little to the reader, as stated above, except reference details, which can be isolated through use of a fairly complete index. Chapter XIII on "Social and Economic Conditions" begins with the interesting assertion that no estimate of the population figure can be made for any period covered in this history. The lack of known reliable information on the subject is reflected in the sparing account. The following chapter on "Literature" is most satisfying. It not only covers adequately the history of the literature of the modern vernaculars, except Marathi, but assembles for the first time in one place a complete account of the Sanskrit literature in every field that was produced in the Deccan. The final chapters on "Religion and Philosophy" and "Art and Architecture" are succinct and may be supplemented by reference to the works listed in the bibliographies at the end of each chapter. Sastri has made a commendable contribution to our knowledge of an area that has received far too little attention in the total Indian scene. Much of the material in this work for the period 325 B.C.–A.D. 300 can be found in somewhat expanded form in the author's *A Comprehensive History of India,* Volume II, published in 1957.

Library of Congress HORACE I. POLEMAN

THE HISTORY OF THE GĀHAḌAVĀLA DYNASTY. By *Roma Niyogi.* With a foreword by *R. C. Majumdar.* (Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Book Agency. 1959. Pp. xvi, 283. Rs. 15.00.) The period of two hundred years between the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni and the conquests of Muhammad of Ghur is one of great importance to every student of Indian history. It was marked by a rapid disintegration of Indian society and the political system, which explains the indifference of the various Indian states to the threatening menace from the northwest and their failure to offer any effective resistance when the final onslaught came. In order to find out the true causes

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of this disintegration, it is necessary to study in detail the history of the several kingdoms that shared power in north India. Dr. Roma Niyogi has rendered a very useful service to students of Indian history by making such a detailed study of one of the most important kingdoms of the period, that ruled by the Gāhaḍavālas. The book is divided into eight chapters. The first deals with the history of north India from the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni to the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas. The second describes the origin and early history of the new dynasty. The next three chapters present the history of the Gāhaḍavāla Kingdom from 1089 to 1193, while the last three provide valuable geographical data about the extent of the kingdom and also an account of the administration, religion, and social pattern under the Gāhaḍavālas. The author has utilized in a competent manner all the available source materials—inscriptions, coins, and literary works including contemporary Muslim writings. The narrative is good, and in general the conclusions on controversial points of genealogy, geographical data, or facts of history are quite plausible, although it must be said that difference of opinion will always persist as long as scholars have to depend on uncertain readings of some obscure inscriptions. The principal shortcoming of the work is the absence of a clear and detailed analysis of the political and social conditions that lay at the root of the weakness of Hindu India between the first Muslim raids from the northwest and the final conquest. Such an analysis is the very *raison d'être* of a work of this kind. Then again, one would have wished to find a more detailed and systematic treatment of the struggle of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Muslim invaders, particularly during the final phase under Jayachandra. Finally, the author seems to have attached an exaggerated importance to the survival of the Gāhaḍavāla power after the Battle of Chandwar.

University of Michigan S. P. Sen

THE STORY OF INDONESIA. By *Louis Fischer.* (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. x, 341. $5.00.) This book is one of the many postwar works that endeavor to interpret for the Western reader one of the new independent nations of Southeast Asia. The opening chapters of Part I present a rapidly moving but accurate historical account of Indonesia from the early times of Marco Polo down to the present decade of independence, including good summary accounts of the coming of the Portuguese and Spanish and the long colonial period under the English and the Dutch. Other chapters relate the Japanese invasion in 1942 and interpret clearly the subsequent bitter struggle of the Indonesians for their freedom from Dutch control. Part II, comprising more than half of the text, deals with Indonesian persons, events, and problems that have emerged within the past decade of independence. Among the persons discussed at length are these who are currently prominent in Indonesia: Sukarno, Moh. Hatta, Wilopo, Abdul Nasution, Ali Sastroamidjojo, and Djuanda. Indonesia, like the other liberated nations of Southeast Asia, now faces a variety of difficult economic, political, and social problems. Unfortunately the one causing heated Sino-Indonesian friction—Chinese dual citizenship—is not even mentioned. In discussing the problems of West Irian, the October 17 affair, industrialization and economic development, population growth and birth control, "guided democracy," pressure of Communism, and the foreign policy of the United States toward Indonesia, this unusually analytic journalist raises questions of deep importance to the West.

Library of Congress Cecil Hobbs

THE DAYS OF JOHN COMPANY: SELECTIONS FROM CALCUTTA GAZETTE, 1824–1832. Compiled and edited by *Anil Chandra Das Gupta.* Preface by *Narendra Krishna Sinha.* Foreword by *Bhupati Majumdar.* (Calcutta: Superintendent,

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Government Printing, West Bengal. 1959. Pp. xxxvi, 758, vii. Rs. 11.) This volume completes a series begun, but never finished, in the mid-nineteenth century. It is the sixth and last volume of "selections" from the *Calcutta Gazette* chosen from the period 1784–1832 when that paper was, in effect, both an official gazette and a private newspaper. Of the previous five volumes that appeared between 1864 and 1869, the first three were edited by W. D. Seton-Carr, and the last two by Hugh Sandemann. These are now so rare that it is to be hoped the government of West Bengal will consider reprinting them. A six-volume set, in uniform format, would supply teachers both in India and abroad with a valuable collection of source material illustrative of life and society, both Indian and European, during a half century of the consolidation of British rule in India. To this volume one may turn for selections from the poetry of Derozio, contemporary geographic descriptions of Ladakh, Tibet, upper Burma, or the lesser-known reaches of the Brahmaputra, Indian schoolboys' sound criticisms of James Mill's *History of India,* and above all for an understanding of relations between Europeans, Indians, and Eurasians, and of the introduction of English education in the pre-Macaulay era. The only criticism might be that sometimes too many, rather than too few, "selections" illustrative of those particular aspects of life that underwent little change during these eight years have been included.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

UNITED STATES

THE AMERICAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. By *Max Beloff.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 213. $4.50.) The distinguished Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration has produced a compact and lucid volume that should be read by every serious student of the American political scene. Beloff states he is not attempting a detailed description of the governmental system of the United States, rather he wishes to discuss those aspects that "affect the outside world." A realistic blending of the formal and informal agencies and processes of our political life gives the volume balance and insight. For example, sectionalism rather than "State Rights" receives emphasis in his discussion of minorities, while structural and formal developments help him to explain the "low degree of public interest in state issues." The evolution of the presidency and the growth of the executive office are contrasted with the position of the British cabinet and the prime minister with special attention to budgetary matters. Congressional investigating committees and national party conventions receive perceptive attention and both are treated far more sympathetically than is usually the case when American writers approach them. A most realistic discussion of the party system gives the reader a clear picture of this basic process in our governmental system. The last chapter deals with the relationship between government and the citizen. "The main difference between government in the twentieth-century style and government in previous periods lies as much in the expectations of the citizens as in the performance of the rulers," says Beloff. Expectation must be matched by responsibility. The citizen must accept a professionally competent administration. "The *damnosa hereditas* of Jacksonian democracy, the view that one man is as good as another, that any literate citizen can do almost any job, and that a Democracy can do without an administrative (and military) elite must be eliminated once and for all." Indeed, the volume is provocative, stimulating, thoughtful, and constructive.

University of Kansas ETHAN P. ALLEN

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VIRGINIA: A NEW LOOK AT THE OLD DOMINION. By *Marshall W. Fishwick*. [Regions of America Book.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 305. $5.50.) Marshall W. Fishwick, a professor of American literature at Washington and Lee University, has written a racy and entertaining character sketch of his native state. The book would be certain to cause apoplexy among some of his fellow Virginians if they did not have a protective vanity that will insulate them from the author's barbs. This work is hard to classify. The author professes that he started out to write "a general survey," but the finished product is something less and more than a general history of the state. It is an attempt at an explanation of Virginia's history, its politics, its manners, and its mores, from the first settlement at Jamestown until the recent celebration of that event. Although Fishwick is critical of many of the foibles and weaknesses of his native state, he nevertheless writes *con amore*. As a student at Yale, he confesses that he defended Virginia "against all comers," but in his book he criticizes Virginia's reactionaries with the vigor of a native who has been betrayed. As a serious work of history, Fishwick's book suffers from being sprightly sometimes at the expense of fact. A pretty paradox, a startling statement to shock the reader, or an amusing anecdote may improve the readability of the work, but such devices can lead to distortion in emphasis and proportion, if not to actual misstatement. Despite this grave fault, the volume has much to commend it. Fishwick really understands contemporary Virginia and its people, and he can write about them with an understanding and perception not possible for an outlander. Some of his best chapters deal with the literature of the state and the attitudes that that literature has fostered. A final chapter inserted as an appendix, entitled "Clio in Bondage: History Writing in Virginia," provides discerning comment on Virginia's historians. In his observations upon the late Douglas Freeman as a historian he remarks that Freeman "did not write objectively. Gracefully, eloquently, powerfully—but not objectively. Indeed he was the most Virginian of them all." And of the state's penchant for erecting historical markers, Fishwick observes, "Tradition is the Old Dominion's most valuable natural resource." Throughout the book the author has many shrewd comments on Virginia's utilization of history for its own purposes. History has served Virginians well. From it they have drawn what they wanted most. In common with the rest of the South, Virginia has been inclined to live in the past and to find in history stimulus for vanities that have become a handicap. "What wrecked the South and threatens to wreck it again," Fishwick remarks, "is pride. Jefferson said it best: 'Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst, and cold.'" Although the austere historian will find much to annoy him in Fishwick's debonair treatment of historical data, his book is well worth reading, for his comments are frequently penetrating and witty.

Folger Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

PUBLIC HEALTH IN THE TOWN OF BOSTON, 1630–1822. By *John B. Blake*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 278. $6.50.) Much can be said for the history of a problem limited in area and scope if it be significantly related to the world beyond. Of such character is this book by the curator of the Division of Medical Sciences at the Smithsonian. The author begins with the day the Massachusetts Bay Company limited the number of passengers in each ship as a health measure and ends with the dawn of the modern sanitary movement. Because he had to feel his way his book is methodologically as well as substantially valuable. Blake has neglected no source—official, periodical, monographic—and at no time does he fail to appreciate that contemporary measures reflected the best knowledge and experience. Likewise he supplies ample evidence of

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the similarities in crises and outlook on both sides of the Atlantic. During the seventeenth century successive epidemics led Bostonians to supplement their prayers with quarantine, sanitation, and improved training. After 1691 religion dropped farther back as vital statistics, pesthouses, and civic responsibility bolstered the older policies. If there was quackery there was also willing acceptance of sound knowledge. Medical opinion of course was far from single-minded, and controversies over contagion, inoculation, and vaccination flared as warmly in New England as in Old. As in England, too, progress in theory and policy followed hard upon epidemic crisis, first smallpox then yellow fever. Yet endemic diseases not only carried off the people but in their own way promoted sanitation, temperance, education, better housing and burials, and broader health administration. On the whole the authorities showed themselves public spirited and enterprising. The story told here is one to inspire pride; it also reveals the need for many more such studies as a prelude to a full account of public health in the United States.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

DAVID LLOYD: COLONIAL LAWMAKER. By *Roy N. Lokken.* [University of Washington Publications in History.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 305. $5.00.) The author in a full-length biography embarks upon the difficult task of analyzing the character and assessing the work of David Lloyd, the brilliant lawyer and politician who dominated Pennsylvania politics for a score of years at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The myth that Lloyd was unscrupulous and vindictive was perpetrated by his enemies and perpetuated by the historian Proud and his followers into the twentieth century. Dr. Lokken, though well aware of Lloyd's deficiencies, does him belated justice, as have Frederick Tolles and Catherine Peare in their recent biographies of James Logan and William Penn. Even Logan, Lloyd's bitter rival, conceded that were Lloyd not so base at heart, he might have been exceedingly useful. Lloyd was a man of much greater vision than Logan, the watchdog of Proprietor Penn. Lokken demonstrates this abundantly as he weaves his way, perhaps in too great detail, through the intricacies of Pennsylvania politics. Like Samuel Jennings in West Jersey and Richard Hartshorne in East Jersey, Lloyd was the enemy of the proprietary prerogative in Pennsylvania. He therefore strove to enhance the power of the legislative branch, over which he exercised a tight control for many years. His opposition was concentrated upon the proprietary prerogative rather than upon the crown. He always believed that the king was the fountain from which flowed the liberties enjoyed by the colonists, and that Parliament was the exemplar of the privileges claimed by the Pennsylvania assembly. The label of "quarrelsome demagogue" is no longer appropriate for the man who made possible the Frame of Government of 1696 and the Charter of Privileges of 1701, who brought about the abolition of the legislative powers of the council, who steadily resisted the efforts of the governor and the council to control the judiciary and to encroach upon the functions of the assembly, and who supported the Quakers in their efforts to secure the right of affirmation and the abolition of the slave trade.

Huntington Library JOHN E. POMFRET

TURNCOATS, TRAITORS AND HEROES. By *John Bakeless.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. c. 1959. Pp. 406. $6.50.) *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes* by John Bakeless is a notable contribution to the list of high-quality books being published about the Revolution. Involved for years in the collection of material for a history of American military intelligence, Bakeless uncovered so much new informa-

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tion that he felt constrained to reduce the scope of his project five times. Thus he eliminated Revolutionary War espionage and intrigue overseas, on the frontier, in New Hampshire and Vermont, and in Canada, while he compressed those developments already well known, for example, the Arnold-André affair. The book in its present form deals with the espionage, counterespionage, and other military intelligence services in both armies in the main theater of war, and, as such, is unique. Not since Carl Van Doren's *Secret History of the American Revolution* has a comprehensive study of Revolutionary War intrigue appeared. But whereas Van Doren devoted much of his work to the Arnold conspiracy, Bakeless goes farther afield. Thus, in examining Gage's efforts to learn patriot plans, he presents not only the clandestine activities of the pseudo patriot, Dr. Benjamin Church, but also the exploits of British Captain Brown, Ensign De Bernière, and John Howe. On the other side, the work of Paul Revere and his associates is analyzed at length. The intense spying by both combatants around New York and Philadelphia receives ample treatment, with Bakeless considering—among other individuals—the wasted efforts of Nathan Hale and the extraordinary experiences of Enoch Crosby, who was the hero of Cooper's *The Spy,* and of the little-known Ann Bates, a British agent who enjoyed remarkable success. If it is unlikely that Bakeless' study, despite his hopes, is complete, it is comprehensive, thorough, and exhaustive in its research. He has utilized with discernment the great manuscript collections, public and private, in this country and Europe. His treatment of both incident and character is judicious and sophisticated, while his writing is a joy to read.

Wesleyan University WILLARD M. WALLACE

THE SPANISH TOWN PAPERS: SOME SIDELIGHTS ON THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. By *E. Arnot Robertson.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 199. $4.00.) Miss Robertson's study is based on the records of nearly one thousand ships brought to trial before the Jamaica vice-admiralty court during the American Revolution. Badly damaged through accident and neglect, and never used before, many documents are woven into her text. The procedure in the vice-admiralty courts is described in detail, and their venality is shown. The usual charge concerned belonging to or trading with the enemy, and the presiding judge received only a small fee if the charge were dismissed. If sustained, the ship and its cargo were sold and a generous percentage of the sale price went to the judge. Ships logs, personal letters, official reports, the indenture of an apprentice seaman are here. In addition, the wages received by privateersmen, the cost of ships, the extent of the slave trade in the Atlantic, the difficulty of getting "sailing directions" when British charts were no longer available, the great number of ships that surrendered without firing a shot (nineteen out of twenty), and the shortages and discomforts in the colonies are discussed. The author has dealt with her sources critically, has organized her fragmentary data well, and has written with clarity and polish. There is no index.

State University College of Education, Cortland, New York RALPH ADAMS BROWN

CATTLE KINGDOM IN THE OHIO VALLEY, 1783–1860. By *Paul C. Henlein.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. c. 1959. Pp. vii, 198. $6.50.) This study of the beef cattle industry is primarily concerned with the bluegrass region of Kentucky and the Scioto and Miami Valleys of Ohio and to a lesser extent with the prairies of Indiana and Illinois. The stocking of the ranges and feeder lots, the introduction of purebreds, the protracted controversies over blood lines, and droving and marketing practices in these areas are described. The text is heavily freighted with names of bulls, graziers, breeders, and drovers with emphasis upon the many Renicks and Brutus

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Clay, whose papers provided much fresh information. Use of the *New Orleans Price Current* and more intensive research in the New York *Tribune* might have widened the sphere of the study somewhat, but it has adequate merit. The author has put together a not unfamiliar story—Bidwell and Falconer and Gray had previously written extensively on the subject—but Henlein's treatment of the beef cattle industry is superior in comprehensiveness and in the mastery of detail. Most competently handled are the accounts of breeding practices, the eastward drive, and fluctuations in prices. Hints of losses in marketing appear but the available data has not made possible generalizations concerning profits and losses. Use of the Paxson and Rogers and Neu railroad maps might have induced the author to give more attention to the effects of the railroad network's extension on cattle raising and droving. Readers unfamiliar with the topography and county organization of Ohio and Kentucky will regret the lack of maps showing the principal regions; others will feel the map of cattle trails is deficient because it omits the routes taken by drovers to the largest market, New York.

Cornell University PAUL W. GATES

ADVENTUROUS ALLIANCE: THE STORY OF THE AGASSIZ FAMILY OF BOSTON. By *Louise Hall Tharp.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 354. $5.00.) With a firm grasp of Boston genealogy, study in basic published and manuscript sources, and a flair for the "colorful" if sometimes trivial incident, Mrs. Tharp has added another warm family portrait to her gallery. The Agassizes of Boston—the immigrant Swiss naturalist Louis Agassiz, his wife Elizabeth Cary, Louis' children by his first wife, and the many Cary, Perkins, Higginson, Cabot, and Shaw connections—now join the Peabodys and the Wards as subjects of Mrs. Tharp's inquiry into the nature of life in the best circles of nineteenth-century New England. What she tells is an often delightful story of what it was like to grow up in the Boston-Cambridge axis in a family of learning, responsibility, and wealth. There are pictures of Agassiz' pursuing and classifying fishes, creating his museum and monument at Harvard; of Elizabeth's exploring the Amazon with her husband, developing Radcliffe College as its first president; of her stepson Alexander's revitalizing Boston merchant fortunes with Michigan copper. And there are the European tours, melancholia, teas, tears, pneumonia, bachelor brothers, maiden aunts, the cousins, the sanitariums, the summer resorts, the sense of purpose—all the cement of an extended New England family. The result is a successful impression of life, drawn with sure skill (and wonderfully helped by that old art of letter writing, at which Elizabeth Cary Agassiz was an expert). It admirably conveys an idea of the quality of life and purpose that animated scholarly Cambridge during the second half of the century. But an impression of life is not history—at least not until it has been subjected to some penetrating questions. And these Mrs. Tharp has avoided. Her book is free of interpretation. It touches only lightly on Agassiz' not inconsiderable role in the battle over evolution, and from her treatment it is not possible to reach any conclusion on the significance of Agassiz as a scientist or as a popularizer of science. Nor can Elizabeth Agassiz' role at early Radcliffe be assessed on the basis of this book. The human touch and impressionist school of storytelling is in no sense to be dismissed, but it cannot deliver the results that are expected of historical investigation: depth, breadth, meaning.

Williams College FREDERICK RUDOLPH

PRUDENT SOLDIER: A BIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY, 1817–1873, HIS MILITARY SERVICE IN THE INDIAN CAMPAIGNS, IN THE MEXICAN WAR, IN CALIFORNIA, NEW MEXICO, UTAH, AND OREGON; IN

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THE CIVIL WAR IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, AND AS MILITARY GOVERNOR IN THE POST-WAR SOUTH. By *Max L. Heyman, Jr.* [Frontier Military Series, Volume III.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1959. Pp. 418. $11.00.) When a biographer is faced with the dual task of persistently seeking out fugitive information concerning his subject from the papers of contemporaries and from newspapers and then assembling the collected pieces into a mosaic that will portray a reasonably convincing likeness of his man, it is hard to say which accomplishment is to be admired the more. Professor Heyman has done both tasks very ably indeed in this first biography of General Edward R. S. Canby. Son of a pioneer Kentucky doctor who became involved in a Hoosier land office scandal, Canby may have been influenced to become, as a result of this incident, a most circumspect, efficient, and honorable officer among many whose ambitions led them to be less scrupulous. From his graduation at West Point in 1839 until the Civil War, his career was a typical one. The Seminoles, garrison and recruiting duty, the Mexican War, and the Mormon and the Navaho difficulties in turn claimed his services and his rise was steady enough. His Civil War command in New Mexico gave him the opportunity to repel Sibley's invasion but the circumstances attending this success were never accepted by the public as being greatly to his credit. (Incidentally, Heyman is almost, but not quite, certain that Canby and Sibley were not brothers-in-law.) In later Civil War service, he got along well with Halleck but was unable to win the confidence of Grant. His services during the military occupation of the South were in several different states and he seems to have been among the better officers at this difficult and often distasteful work. He welcomed the opportunity for frontier duty once more in 1870 and it was his tragic fate that, although he was more fair-minded toward the Indians than most of his generation, he was murdered by the Modoc chief, Captain Jack, during a peace conference. If somewhat unfortunate in his career, Canby has been most fortunate, at last, in his biographer.

Colorado College HARVEY L. CARTER

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXIV, THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, 1828–1834. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter.* [National Archives Publication Number 60-2.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1959. Pp. v, 1143. $8.00.) This third volume of the *Territorial Papers of Florida* covers the third and fourth administrations of Governor William P. DuVal, 1828–1834. The high quality of the editing continues. The principal topics remain much the same. The complicated problems of validating, surveying, and locating private land claims from the Spanish period occupy much of the attention of territorial and national officials. Efforts to secure more complete records from Cuba and other Spanish sources prove frustrating. The growing number of applications for improving rivers and harbors, for post offices and post roads, and the longer lists of names to the petitions reflect the growing population of the territory. These new citizens also move to gain control of fishing, turtling, and salvaging or "wrecking" as it is called locally. These have formerly been the exclusive privilege of shipowners operating from the Bahamas and Cuba, who may also have bases on the Keys or on the mainland of the lower peninsula. It is urged that these foreigners may also exercise a baneful influence upon the Seminole Indians who have been pushed down into southern Florida by the pressure upon them by white settlers. The demand for Indian removal grows apace. The welfare of the Indians, the security of the white frontiersmen, and the prevention of the escape of fugitive slaves to the Indians are urged as reasons. Succeeding volumes of the *Territorial Papers* are certain to be devoted largely to the War of

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Indian Removal. The principal new note in this volume is growing dissatisfaction with territorial status expressed largely in protests against appointment of men from distant states who do not spend enough time in Florida, and worse, if possible, some of them are from nonslaveholding states in a territory where nearly half of the population is slave. Home rule is the indicated remedy, but public revenues still fall far short of public expenditures.

University of Miami C. W. Tebeau

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A NEW PORTRAIT. Edited by *Henry B. Kranz.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. c. 1959. Pp. 252. $4.00.) The editor of this volume has been an information officer interpreting the United States abroad. In the course of his work he has given much thought to the significance of Lincoln as a world figure. The Great Emancipator has been to him "an enigma, . . . a complex, mysterious and uncommon individual." The enigmatic mysterious character of the great leader seems too great for any one person to comprehend and depict. So the editor has undertaken what he describes as a "different, untried approach." He invited a number of men, each to contribute a short, succinct, and analytical essay on a single aspect of Lincoln's personality. To these essays he has added a series of brief comments on Lincoln made by others, and has capped the whole by including a number of Lincoln's most significant utterances. This plan was designed to permit "a new, multicolored image of him in mosaic form" to emerge and resolve the enigma. Twenty-two men, most of whom had previously written on Lincoln, participated. They analyze Lincoln's various professional and political interests. They discuss his cultural interests. Repetitiously and therefore at too great length they discourse on his humanity. They deal with him as a man with a family, in his shirt sleeves. They assess his place in the history of the nation and the world. As sketches all of them are good and to pick out several for commendation means no disparagement to the rest. Those by Basler, Blegen, Bruce, Donald, T. V. Smith, Wiley, and Williams, however, contributed particularly to the reviewer's knowledge. Smith's exposition of Lincoln's relation to democracy is particularly illuminating. Whether the book produces a new portrait is an open question. If it does the reader must be the artist. From this somewhat heterogeneous set of pigments and patterns, the reader's talent may enable him to paint a portrait. But the chances are it will be one largely already well known to him. Lincoln's myriad admirers will find this the latest convenient "devotional." Those who wish to become acquainted with a man they know not will find the reading of this book a good way to begin. Whether these pages resolve the enigma will depend upon whether an arrangement of material largely familiar in another series of permutations and combinations stimulates fresh thought and new insight.

University of Pennsylvania Roy F. Nichols

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE: SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS IN THE OHIO CAMPAIGN OF 1859. Edited, with an introduction, by *Harry V. Jaffa* and *Robert W. Johannsen.* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. c. 1959. Pp. x, 307. $5.00.) This useful and attractive volume contains seven documents, five of which have not been easily accessible until now. The three speeches by Douglas and two by Lincoln in the Ohio campaign of 1859 constitute an important sequel to their great debates of the previous year. And the editors have enhanced the value of their book and pointed up the schism in Democratic ranks by including Douglas' exposition of popular sovereignty for *Harper's Magazine* and the reply to it by Jeremiah S. Black, Buchanan's attorney

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general. The extensive introduction consists of a well-documented description of "The Setting" by Professor Johannsen and a thoughtful essay on "The Issues" by Professor Jaffa.

Stanford University D. E. FEHRENBACHER

FROM THE CANNON'S MOUTH: THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF GENERAL ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS. Edited with an introduction by *Milo M. Quaife*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press and the Detroit Historical Society. 1959. Pp. x, 405. $7.50.) Civil War scholars are always grateful for a volume of letters written by a high-ranking officer who held important commands in pivotal engagements. This compilation of Brigadier General Alpheus S. Williams' wartime letters to his daughters is a superior collection. Born in 1810 in Deep River, Connecticut, Williams graduated from Yale in 1831, and studied law in between frequent and extensive travels in the United States and Europe. He set up a law practice in Detroit and was lieutenant colonel of the First Michigan Infantry during the Mexican War. Shortly after the Civil War began, Williams was named a brigadier general of United States volunteers and served as a division commander in 1862 in the Shenandoah Valley and at South Mountain. He exercised command of the Twelfth Corps at Antietam, of a division of that corps at Chancellorsville, and of the Twelfth Corps again, temporarily, at Gettysburg. His command was heavily engaged in all three battles. He served under Sherman in the Atlanta-Savannah-Carolinas campaign, first as division commander and then as head of the Twentieth Corps. In all these operations, Williams performed most creditably and received the encomiums of his superiors. Yet he never received a major generalcy. Williams' letters are well written. In them he paid close attention to strategy and tactics and to the character and personalities of leading Federal generals. Nor did he ignore the local color of campaigning and of army life. Especially useful to students of the war are his keen, detailed accounts of Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. Milo M. Quaife has written an informative introduction, and his annotations are well done. The volume should help to restore Williams to his rightful status in the hierarchy of Union general officers.

Pennsylvania State University WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

SOUTH OF APPOMATTOX. By *Nash K. Burger* and *John K. Bettersworth*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. c. 1959. Pp. vii, 376. $5.75.) In this cleverly but somewhat obscurely titled book, Reconstruction is interpreted through the lives of ten Confederate leaders who remained prominent in the South during the postwar era. Biographical sketches are presented of Robert E. Lee, Matthew Fontaine Maury, John C. Breckinridge, Nathan Bedford Forrest, Alexander H. Stephens, L. Q. C. Lamar, Joseph E. Johnston, Wade Hampton, James Longstreet, and Jefferson Davis. "In these ten," write the authors, "may be seen not only the Reconstruction South, but something of the Confederate South and of that older South that made the Confederacy." The sketches draw upon a wide range of printed sources, including numerous articles from professional quarterlies. Deftly written, they offer information and observations of interest to the specialist and the general reader, for whom this undocumented volume seems primarily intended. But they are uncritical: they tend to eulogize their subjects and to portray the "redemption" of the South from Reconstruction as the simple triumph of good over evil, bypassing the findings of scholars who have shown it to be a complex and at times very seamy process. Thus as historical interpretation the book lacks objectivity.

University of Colorado HAL BRIDGES

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"SUNSET" COX: IRREPRESSIBLE DEMOCRAT. By *David Lindsey*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1959. Pp. xx, 323. $5.00.) Often when one peruses still another biography of a leading historical figure—Thaddeus Stevens, for example—he inevitably wishes for at least one volume dealing objectively with the life of one of the "second-string" combatants in the political struggles of mid-nineteenth-century America. Professor Lindsey has supplied such a need in his account of the career of Samuel Sullivan Cox, commonly called "Sunset" Cox because of his authorship of a flamboyant editorial in the Columbus *Ohio Statesmen,* May 19, 1853, describing the beauties of an Ohio sunset. The son of a prominent Zanesville, Ohio, family, Cox had an excellent education at Ohio University (at Athens) and at Brown. Over the period of a generation, law, journalism, politics, authorship (especially of *A Buckeye Abroad* [1852] and *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* [1885]), and an interlude of foreign service (he was minister to Turkey, 1885–1886) provided a varied life. His chief service, however, was as a Democrat in the House of Representatives, where he was a powerful figure for four terms from Ohio (1857–1865) and from New York City during most of the period from 1869 until his death in 1889. He was an opponent of the Lecompton Constitution but supported the English bill. An ardent Union man, he so strongly opposed centralizing tendencies in government that he accompanied Vallandigham to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, where the Copperhead leader made the well-known speech for which he was later arrested. Lindsey does not mention that Cox was the author of the words that caused Vallandigham to be brought to trial. After the war, Cox counseled moderation toward the South, a low tariff, and "sound money." He was especially concerned with legislation aimed at improving the lot of mail carriers and the efficiency of the Life-Saving Service. The author deals sympathetically with Cox's career, which he appraises as that of one "on the second rung of the ladder," who nevertheless for a generation "stood among the top three or four leaders of his party." Based upon manuscript sources, unpublished masters theses and doctoral dissertations, newspapers, and published volumes, the study is a worthy, if minor, contribution to American historiography.

Ohio State University FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER

THE DIARIES OF WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON, FRONTIER PHOTOGRAPHER, TO CALIFORNIA AND RETURN, 1866–67; AND WITH THE HAYDEN SURVEYS TO THE CENTRAL ROCKIES, 1873, AND TO THE UTES AND CLIFF DWELLINGS, 1874. Edited, with introduction and notes by *LeRoy R.* and *Ann W. Hafen.* [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820–1875, Volume X.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1959. Pp. 345. $9.50.) THE OVERLAND DIARY OF JAMES A. PRITCHARD FROM KENTUCKY TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849. Edited, with an introduction, bibliography, and a chart of travel by *Dale L. Morgan.* With a biography of Captain James A. Pritchard by *Hugh Pritchard Williamson.* ([Denver, Colo.:] Fred A. Rosenstock, Old West Publishing Company. 1959. Pp. 221. $15.00.) From the Arthur H. Clark Company, scholars have come to expect source materials of merit, ably edited, grandiose in design, usually in a series, that make permanent contributions to western bibliography. From the smaller Old West Publishing Company, historians expect distinctive western Americana occasionally offered to the discriminating scholarly world. These two volumes well represent their publishing houses and their editors. William Henry Jackson has been known as the "pioneer photographer" since he published his first western pictures in 1871. Seeking the West after a lover's quarrel, he photographed the mountain country for the Hayden Geological Survey for nine years and for himself and others until his death

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in 1942. The diaries included are those of a California trip in 1866 and his return to Nebraska driving a herd of wild horses; to the central Rockies in 1873; and a journey among the Utes and cliff dwellers in 1874. That Jackson could photograph breath-taking scenes better than he could write about them probably explains why these three were chosen from the many extant diaries. The Pritchard diary of an overland trip to California in 1849 is unique in many respects. Pritchard was an unusual man who not only survived the trek to the mines, but returned to become a Missouri planter, state legislator, and colonel in the Confederate army. His company quarreled en route and he arrived without any of the members who started with him. The diary does not end with the arrival in California, but continues during the early months there. Dale L. Morgan's editing is more distinctive than the diary itself. He lists all the published overland diaries via South Pass in 1849, presents a chart showing the date at which each passed one of the fifty landmarks on the trail, and uses this material in the explanatory notes. The Bruff maps, unknown to the editors of *Gold Rush* in 1944, are produced here for the first time. Students of the overland movement will want to consult this attempt to "discipline" the diaries of the forty-niners.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls WALKER D. WYMAN

SEED, SOIL AND SCIENCE: THE STORY OF EUGENE D. FUNK. By *Helen M. Cavanagh.* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 544. $7.50.) The business history of a large Illinois seed company, a narrative of the Funk family's farming enterprises, an account of agricultural technology and hybrid corn development, plus the biography of an agricultural leader constitute a large order even for a thick volume. A wealth of new information is presented on the foregoing topics and on the neglected prosperous side of midwestern agriculture, though the book is deficient as a history. The Funk family has been prominent in the story of central Illinois agriculture and public affairs since the middle nineteenth century. The career of Eugene D. Funk, as a manager of family properties and as an agricultural leader, reflected much of the history of American commercial agriculture as it moved through the first half of the twentieth century, becoming more businesslike and productive but not immune to economic adversity. The author's case study does not reveal just how prosperous the more affluent farmers could have been, but clearly much wealth was derived from agriculture. Appropriate to this history, too, was the venture of the Funk family into the seed business, commercial seeds being a foundation of commercial agriculture. New material for the agricultural historian is presented in detailed chapters on large-scale grain and livestock farming in Illinois, the operation of a profitable farm seed company founded in 1901, the scientific background and commercial development of hybrid corn, the impact of new corn technology in the corn belt, and the adventures of a farm leader in Washington. The book presents few generalizations and little analysis; it is descriptive and narrative. There are gaps that are not filled by genealogical detail. To the author, E. D. Funk is always sage, industrious, farsighted, and generous. The work was subsidized by the Funk Brothers Seed Company.

University of California, Davis JAMES H. SHIDELER

WHO: SIXTY YEARS OF AMERICAN EMINENCE. THE STORY OF *WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA.* By *Cedric A. Larson.* (New York: McDowell, Obolensky. c. 1958. Pp. xvi, 389. $5.00.) This historical account of *Who's Who in America* describes how the huge volumes which have appeared since 1899 have been put together. As it does so it uncovers many a good story on *Who's Who* Americans and their foibles.

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The origins and history of the A. N. Marquis Company, the publishers, are described from the company records. The volume contains first-rate Americana and will provide a pleasant evening or two for any historian.

Washington, D. C. BCS

OIL ON STREAM! A HISTORY OF INTERSTATE OIL PIPE LINE COMPANY, 1909–1959. By *John L. Loos.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. c. 1959. Pp. xvi, 411. $6.00.) This is the story of a pipeline wholly owned and operated within the vast Standard Oil enterprise. Interstate Oil Pipe Line is presently made up of several lines controlled completely by the Standard system. The chief value of the book lies in its excellent account of how pipelines were laid and maintained and how management through the years has dealt with problems imposed by state and federal regulatory bodies. The author has traced carefully the technological progress made over the last fifty years in pipelining. He seems unaware, however, that the progress was industry wide and not just that of oil lines. Improvements, for example, in pipe-cleaning devices occurred for both oil and natural gas at about the same time. His statement that the Ajax Pipe Line laid in 1930 was the first to be constructed using modern machinery should be examined carefully in the light of the use of modern machinery in that year by Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line Company and the Natural Gas Pipe Line Company of America. To be commended is the author's use of information given in interviews. His bibliography shows a thorough knowledge of his subject and can be used with confidence by researchers in the field. Also to be praised is his analysis of operating difficulties that stem from the interpretation by courts and regulatory agencies of common carrier provisions of the interstate commerce regulations. His point of view is, of course, that of pipeline management; but he states fairly and describes adequately the burdens imposed by regulation on efficient operations.

Purdue University Robert B. Eckles

EMANUEL L. PHILIPP: WISCONSIN STALWART. By *Robert S. Maxwell.* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1959. Pp. xvi, 272. $6.50.) The careers of Robert La Follette and Emanuel L. Philipp were similar up to a point. Both were born into struggling families in rural postfrontier Wisconsin, both labored on a farm, and both left their mark on Wisconsin politics. Unlike La Follette, Philipp was attracted to public life relatively late. From being a teacher at the age of seventeen and then a telegraph operator, Philipp worked his way up by assorted positions to become the president and chief stockholder of the Union Refrigerator Transit Corporation, one of the largest operators of private railroad cars in the country. Only in 1914, after becoming a millionaire, did Philipp challenge the Progressive dynasty that had ruled Wisconsin since the turn of the century. He won the Republican nomination in 1914 and the election. He was to win two more consecutive terms before voluntarily retiring from politics. Philipp was a conservative. In his first campaign he promised to discard the "Wisconsin Idea," to abolish many of the regulatory boards and commissions established by the Progressives, to reduce state expenditures, especially those of the state university, and to replace the primary system with the old party conventions. That he did none of these things was testimony in part to the tenacious hold the Progressive reforms had on the state, in part to his good common sense and his highly developed concern for the public welfare. Philipp did stop further Progressive taxation reforms and public utility regulation. But he also strengthened the state's common school system, stimulated the construction of all-weather roads, was an excellent war governor, and on the whole during that period fought for the preservation of civil

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rights and personal freedom against the ardent attacks of superpatriots. During his last year as governor he protected the right of labor to strike and picket, recommended a rent control act, and secured larger funds for the operations of the postwar state university. This study of a principled, honest, public-spirited conservative is based upon the Philipps' personal papers and extensive collateral research in manuscripts, newspapers, and government documents. The author's comments are judicious, his interpretation fair, and considering the subject, the book is well written, although it will scarcely add anything to the understanding of twentieth-century American conservative principles, since Philipp was too unimaginative and too limited for that. But the book is a contribution to the history of the state and a valuable corrective to existing works written from a Progressive viewpoint.

University of California, Los Angeles GEORGE E. MOWRY

AN AMERICAN EPIC. Volume I, INTRODUCTION: THE RELIEF OF BELGIUM AND NORTHERN FRANCE, 1914–1930. By *Herbert Hoover.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1959. Pp. xxiii, 477. $6.50.) In this first volume of a projected three-volume series on American governmental and voluntary relief activities in Europe during the past half century, former President Hoover has written the history, largely through reprinting contemporary documents, of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. His title is suggestive of his general approach to relief activities, and this is further accentuated by a statement in his introduction declaring that "our people accomplished this task of compassion by self denial, by longer hours of labor and greater tax burdens—and with no return other than to their own consciences." While it may not be entirely fair to say that Hoover has no more in mind than the glorification of the program in which he played such a major role, there is little in this first volume that may be characterized as historical analysis or objective appraisal. The relief story is in many ways an inspiring one, but its significance is not fully revealed without greater attention than Hoover is apparently prepared to give to its possible political and economic implications. In the course of his narrative Hoover at times allows himself some sharp comments. He is highly critical of "the militarists" in both the Allied and German governments who hampered the work of the Belgian Relief Commission, and also of certain Americans. He singles out Senator Lodge as one man who strongly opposed many relief activities, and suggests rather acidly that Brand Whitlock was a great deal more interested in his own writing than in either his duties as our minister to Belgium or in what the Relief Commission was trying to do. There are also occasional comments that lighten the general tone of the book, as when he relates the French complaint that the Germans were throwing the Commission's condensed-milk cans loaded as hand grenades across the trenches—to which Hoover adds rather solemnly: "We undertook to recover the tins." For the most part, however, the account remains a rather loosely strung together collection of official documents—reports, letters, statements of policy, speeches, statistics. They are of very real value as historical source material, but it is too bad that from the perspective of some thirty-five years Hoover has not provided the more interpretive record of these activities that his own personal role in Belgian relief should make possible.

Ohio State University FOSTER RHEA DULLES

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. In seven volumes. Volume III, THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 6809.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1959. Pp. viii, 998. $4.25.) There are seven volumes

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of diplomatic correspondence for 1941, and this volume is in a sense the leftovers, the miscellany, after organization of the correspondence into two volumes on the Far East, two on the American republics, one on Europe, and one on general questions and the USSR. Half of the nearly one thousand pages deal with three topics: efforts to keep Turkey away from Germany; the British and Free French invasion of Syria and Lebanon to preserve that area from German dominance; the Anglo-Russian occupation of Iran. The volume offers in some fifty pages an account of the negotiation of the lend-lease agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom. The December–January 1941–1942 Washington Conference between Churchill and Roosevelt will appear in a special volume of *Foreign Relations*. Material on Africa is insubstantial; documents deal with Egypt, Morocco, Ethiopia, and Liberia. The section on the Near East will probably prove of most interest to readers because of that area's special importance today. There are nearly thirty pages on Palestine, relating the fears for Zion as the Germans moved toward Egypt and maneuvered in Syria and Iraq. Saudi Arabia had a piquant problem: King Saud was discovering an empty treasury, unable to stand the drain of his ten-million-dollar annual budget. In Iraq the pro-Axis revolt of Rashid Aly Gailani stirred the American minister in Baghdad to derring-do: he spirited the regent, Abdul Ilah, out of the city ("I took Regent, accompanied by my wife as camouflage, to British air base at Habbaniya in my car with Regent lying on floor at back covered by rug"). The entire Near East section produces a nostalgic feeling—in 1941 the area was still susceptible to diplomatic pressure and a little armed force. But the correspondence also shows how easily the Germans could have moved into the Near East and onward to India, had they not sought to conquer Russia.

Indiana University ROBERT H. FERRELL

THE CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE: ORGANIZING FOR WAR. By *Leo P. Brophy* and *George J. B. Fisher*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xix, 498. $4.00.) This is the first of three volumes devoted to the activities of the Chemical Warfare Service in World War II. Its two sections are devoted to the changing organization and the varying training of the period (including an illuminating background from World War I). While in many respects this volume reveals the same difficulties that beset other parts of the army during the period, the growing pains of a very small organization with highly technical tasks are clearly presented. Not the least difficult problem was the question of the service's chief mission, preparation for a possibility that did not come to pass: retaliation for gas warfare initiated by the enemy. The presentation frankly shows shortcomings as well as achievements. While at times blame is placed on other organizations, the reasons for errors are always given. And there is equal frankness in assessing faults on CWS, both as a consequence of poor internal organization and as a result of personality problems. Even to those not particularly interested in this service, the volume offers interesting material on the shifts and hesitations at high military levels, the early difficulties of procurement and training, the instruction of civilian defense personnel, misdirected effort, improved accomplishments. An otherwise dry subject is presented in an interesting style, and the material is covered thoroughly. The major criticism applies to its references. While always documenting statements of fact and opinion, some documents with long titles are stated fully only when first cited. Since the bibliographical note does not always list these, it is at times difficult to trace the later citation back to its full title.

Indiana University H. FABIAN UNDERHILL

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CARTWHEEL: THE REDUCTION OF RABAUL. By *John Miller, Jr.* [U. S. Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xvi, 418. $5.25.) This eighth volume in the army's series on the Pacific war is devoted to the double-pronged offensive against the great Japanese base at Rabaul. Because the two arms of the offense lay in different theaters, under different commanders, the author faced a formidable task of organization as he unraveled the complicated command structure. In the South Pacific area, moreover, he faced the additional problem of constructing his narrative from the records of the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, the New Zealand air and ground forces, and sundry semiofficial services such as the Coastwatchers. The sheer bulk of material, ranging from unit histories to the papers of the combined chiefs of staff would surely have discouraged a timid historian. Dr. Miller was not timid. He has plowed through it all to give us a remarkably accurate and balanced narrative of the double offensive that finally reduced Rabaul to relative impotence by February 1944. His sections on planning and on the debates between the sensitive commanders are definitive and courageous. Little more need be added to these aspects. He has traced the movement of every unit, and he has moved with them to the front lines where they fought grimly in the dense, steaming jungles. He has benefited from the wealth of memoirs the participating commanders have left and from the Japanese accounts prepared by the surviving generals and admirals. At three points his narrative rises above its usual rather astringent, detached view. His story of the ground fighting on New Georgia, on Los Negros, and above all, on Bougainville is a moving record of island war at its grimmest. But this is a book primarily for the war colleges, the reference libraries, and the professional followers of military history. The general reader will miss the romantic approach. This is war from the commanders' viewpoint.

San Diego State College KRAMER J. ROHFLEISCH

LOGISTICAL SUPPORT OF THE ARMIES. In two volumes. Volume II, SEPTEMBER 1944–MAY 1945. By *Roland G. Ruppenthal.* [U. S. Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xvi, 540. $4.50.) Most historians, but few soldiers, realize that behind the best strategic planning must be the support of the best administrative planning. Volume I, published in 1953, showed this for the Normandy landings and the summer of 1944. This present volume resumes the discussion as of mid-September, when the wild pursuit of the disorganized enemy came to an end, partly because of increasing resistance and partly because the pursuit had so far exceeded the tactical plans that the logistics, though able to support those plans, were unable to cope with the reality. From that time until the end of the fighting it was largely the administrative limitations that affected the military plans, though there was some reverse influence caused by the slowness in acquiring new ports from the enemy. Much of the detailed development (e.g., communications and construction) is left to the technical service histories. This discussion concerns the over-all plans, with illustrations from the basic sources. Naturally such a study lays emphasis on the difficulties involved: destruction to be overcome, successive bottlenecks, disagreements with the War Department, weak organization, physical limitations of the American economy in supporting several theaters of operations, overoptimism and overpessimism, personality conflicts, improvisations. The result is that at times one wonders that the war was finally won. The study is competent and thorough, though at times the language is stilted. The glossary covers the military

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abbreviations used throughout, but such words as "casual" are not defined for the nonmilitary reader. The otherwise excellent maps omit some names mentioned in the text. Careless proofreading changes "salvaged vehicles" to "salvage vehicles." Nonetheless, any historian seeking to understand the course of fighting from Normandy to the Elbe will find this volume and its predecessor essential.

Indiana University H. FABIAN UNDERHILL

THE LIBERATION OF THE PHILIPPINES: LUZON, MINDANAO, THE VISAYAS, 1944–1945. By *Samuel Eliot Morison.* [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume XIII.] (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1959. Pp. xxvii, 338. $6.50.) This is the next but last of Samuel Eliot Morison's fourteen-volume History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, a series that has become a classic in the author's lifetime. Operations included the advance from Leyte to Mindoro as a steppingstone to Luzon, the ordeal of Halsey's Third Fleet in the December 1944 typhoon, fast carrier task force operations, the landings at Lingayen Gulf to begin liberation of Luzon, naval support of the entire operation, the costly *Kamikaze* attacks and elaborate countermeasures, liberation of the southern Philippines, the invasion of Borneo, submarine actions, and activities of the United States Naval Group, China. Most operations were under control of Douglas MacArthur, with Vice-Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid in direct command of naval forces. Among the finest passages are those devoted to the typhoon that smote the Third Fleet, sank three destroyers, and cost the lives of nearly eight hundred sailors. A court of inquiry and Admirals Nimitz and King later absolved Halsey of negligence and concluded that in his zeal to refuel and support the invasion of Luzon he had committed errors in judgment. Morison goes further and absolves Halsey of error because he had received no typhoon warning. It seems carping to find fault, but duty calls. Morison glosses over the confusion on the landing beaches at Lingayen Gulf. The climax in the book comes early with the typhoon and the invasion of Luzon, so that interest lags in the later chapters, a fault that is attributable to the nature of the material and the organization of the series. Fortunately for narrative interest, the last naval action of World War II with marvelous irony reverted to the eighteenth century. After the final cease fire of August 15, 1945, two Chinese sailing junks carrying American sailors captured a Japanese junk by the classic tactic of boarding. "Sailors," admonishes Admiral Morison, "never forget how to sail!"

Department of the Army JOHN MILLER, JR.

LATIN AMERICA

FLORENTINE CODEX. Book IX, THE MERCHANTS. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations by *Charles E. Dibble* and *Arthur J. O. Anderson.* [Monographs of the School of American Research, Number 14, Part X.] (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School of American Research and University of Utah. 1959. Pp. 97. $6.50.) Book IX of Sahagún's magnum opus relates to merchants, goldworkers, lapidaries, and feather artists. These were professional persons of importance in the Aztec world and most of what is known about them derives from Sahagún. The Spanish text of Book IX is known through several prior editions, but none is a literal translation of the Náhuatl as the present English version is. As many reviewers of the work of Dibble and Anderson have pointed out, this translation of the Náhuatl of *Codex Florentino* fills one of the most critical needs in Mexican bibliography. Nine of the

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twelve books of the *Florentine Codex* have now been issued in the series. Books VI, X, and XI are forthcoming. Book IX is especially informative on the role of merchants as agents and spies of Aztec imperialism and on the ceremonial and daily life of the merchant class. Its technological detail on the crafts is unique in Aztec literature, and care has been taken by the translators to elucidate the exact procedure in a way consistent with both metallurgical principle and the Náhuatl text. Notes provide alternative readings from the Spanish text and point out special philological problems. The 110 small Paso y Troncoso illustrations review the life of the merchants and show scenes of craft labor.

State University of Iowa CHARLES GIBSON

MOUVEMENTS OUVRIERS ET SOCIALISTES (CHRONOLOGIE ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE): L'AMÉRIQUE LATINE (1492–1936). By *Carlos M. Rama.* [Published under the auspices of l'Institut français d'histoire sociale.] (Paris: Éditions Ouvrières. *c. 1959. Pp. 222. 1,500 fr.) This work of a Uruguayan scholar is a useful addition to* the rather scanty bibliography on the origins of the Latin American labor movement. While one may question allotting two-thirds of the space to a chronology of events, the selections have been made with sufficient discrimination to provide historical perspective. An interesting and useful aspect of the chronologies of the colonial period and the early nineteenth century (Chapters I–III) is the comprehensive listing of Indian and Negro uprisings. Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English titles predominate. The extensive lists of Latin American socialist and labor periodicals, including a significant number in Italian and German, especially for the period since 1862, should be a welcome aid to scholars (Chapters IV–V). The difficulties of compiling an international bibliography are readily understood, but still the reviewer was surprised to note the omission of such an important work in English, for example, as that of Marjorie R. Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934). With one or two exceptions, Russian titles seem to be limited to works in translation and to those of Russians resident in Latin America.

American University HAROLD EUGENE DAVIS

MEXICO, 1825–1828: THE JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE OF EDWARD THORNTON TAYLOE. Edited by *C. Harvey Gardiner.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1959. Pp. 212. $5.00.) This volume consists of a "journal" (111 manuscript pages), interspersed with letters to members of the Tayloe family (manuscript pages 112–133). The materials are arranged in seven chapters ("Entrance," "Mexico City," "Olla Podrida," "Urban and Rural," "Mines, Politics, and Society," "National and International Affairs," and "Departure") and there is a prologue and an epilogue by the editor. Edward Thornton Tayloe (1803–1876), born in historic Octagon House, Washington, D. C., of a wealthy Virginia planter family, served as private secretary (without monetary compensation) for the years 1825–1828 to Joel R. Poinsett, first United States minister accredited to Mexico. Tayloe's extensive travels (about two thousand miles) carried him from Veracruz to Mexico City, then to Guanajuato, later to Tampico, and to many other places of interest. He visited haciendas, mines, and ancient Indian and colonial edifices and ruins. His comments on the political, social, economic, and religious scenes add much to our knowledge of the contemporary Mexican way of life. The bitter Anglo-American rivalry between Minister Poinsett and his British counterpart, Henry George Ward, is mentioned, but not discussed at length. Professor Gardiner is to be commended for permitting Tayloe

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to speak through his journal and letters without the hindrance of too much editorial impedimenta.

Arlington, Virginia E. T. PARKS

AN AMERICAN IN MAXIMILIAN'S MEXICO, 1865–1866: THE DIARIES OF WILLIAM MARSHALL ANDERSON. Edited by *Ramón Eduardo Ruiz.* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1959. Pp. xxxii, 132. $4.25.) This handsome edition of the diaries of William Marshall Anderson comprises a valuable accession to the growing list of travel accounts that capture the charm and variation of nineteenth-century Mexico. Anderson's journey to Mexico in 1865 took him to the Orizaba-Córdoba region where he met many Confederates who had settled there at the close of the Civil War to rebuild their shattered lives. Eventually Anderson accepted Emperor Maximilian's offer to survey lands in Coahuila that were to be colonized by new Confederate emigrants. In May 1866 he returned to Mexico City and arrived in the United States later that year. The diary is rich in description of Mexico and her people, but contains little on Mexican politics. In addition to an elaborate introduction and explanatory notes, the volume contains an exciting essay by J. S. Holliday relating his discovery of the Anderson diaries in a Circleville, Ohio, attic and their eventual acquisition by the Huntington Library.

University of Illinois NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

MEKSIKANSKAIA REVOLIUTSIIA 1910–1917 GG. I POLITIKA SSHA [The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1917, and the Policy of the USA]. By *M. Alperovich* and *B. Rudenko.* (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1958. Pp. 328. 9.50 Rubles.) This monograph reflects both the growing Soviet interest in Latin America and the continuing anti-American purposes of much of Soviet historiography. A summary on the back of the title page characterizes the book as "the first attempt in Soviet historical literature . . . to show, against the background of the events of the Mexican revolution, the aggressive policy of American imperialism in relation to Mexico." This is an accurate description of the objective and nature of the study. The authors devote the first third of their work to an analysis of the Díaz regime. They stress its repressive character and allege that it encouraged the exploitation of Mexico by foreign capital. They also give a detailed exposition of the growth of revolutionary forces in the country, divided, in their analysis, into the peasantry, the working class, and the national bourgeoisie. In the Marxist-Leninist parlance of the authors, the revolution that began in 1910 was a "bourgeois-democratic" revolution. While praising its result—the Mexican Constitution of 1917—as progressive, democratic, and "anti-imperialist," and as possessing great significance for the "national liberation" movement in all of Latin America, Alperovich and Rudenko maintain that the regime of Carranza and his successors was unable to "complete" the bourgeois-democratic revolution and to fulfill the promise of the Constitution because of the pressure of American imperialism and because of the weak and disorganized state of the Mexican proletariat and peasantry, who lacked both a definite program and strong (i.e., Communist) leadership. The authors conclude, moreover, that their story has current significance, since the struggle to free Mexico from feudal remnants and exploitation by foreign capital and to prevent its domination by American imperialism still continues. Throughout the study the authors maintain that American policy consistently aimed at establishing complete control and full "imperialist" domination over Mexico. The policies of the Taft administration, the activities of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson, the occupation of Veracruz, and the expedition against Villa provide, of course, much

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grist for their mill. Several aspects of the story, however, give them trouble. While acknowledging American support to Madero, Alperovich and Rudenko argue that this was entirely motivated by the imperialists' fear that Díaz was becoming too weak to stem the revolutionary tide and by a desire to make Madero a puppet, not by any interest in encouraging the establishment of democratic government in Mexico and in ending the tyranny of Díaz. Similarly, Woodrow Wilson's expressed aims of helping the Mexican people to self-government and liberty are depicted as simply a hypocritical mask to disguise the true imperialistic purposes of American interference in Mexican affairs. The authors used published materials extensively, but, basing their study on a preconception and unable to examine American primary sources open to Baker, Link, and Cline—whom the authors condemn, while praising German monographs by Vagts and Römer—Alperovich and Rudenko necessarily give an oversimplified and somewhat distorted picture of American, and particularly Wilsonian, policy in Mexico.

Indiana University JOHN M. THOMPSON

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George Boehrer

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Historical News

Interpretation and Reinterpretation
The Chicago Meeting, 1959

I

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago, December 28–30, 1959. The pervading emphasis throughout was on the interpretation of history and the need for reinterpretation. Papers of a purely informational character were few, though the brevity of the following accounts may tend to obscure this fact. Many of the papers will be published in various journals. This report will but serve as a guide to their content. In order to emphasize and direct the interpretative approach the first half day was devoted to a general session on interpretation, with three outstanding speakers—two historians and a philosopher.

Attendance at the meeting was large, the registrations numbering 2,803, an Association record. Of the total of sixty sessions, twenty-one were set up jointly with cooperating societies, three were dinners, and nine were luncheon conferences. Local arrangements were excellently handled by a large committee headed by Paul Barton Johnson of Roosevelt University. Martin Lowery of DePaul University was in charge of registration; Gordon Goodman of the University of Illinois (Chicago) took care of publicity; Walter Arnstein, Margaret Maddox, Peggy Mulvihill, Rudolf Schade, Sister Albertus Magnus, Alice Smith, and others did yeoman service on expected and unforeseeable problems.

The Program Committee, each member of which contributed ideas and helped put them into effect, was composed of William W. Abbot of the College of William and Mary, Daniel J. Boorstin of the University of Chicago, Robert F. Byrnes of Indiana University, Vernon Carstensen of the University of Wisconsin, Alexander DeConde of the University of Michigan, George L. Mosse of the University of Wisconsin, Charles E. Nowell of the University of Illinois, and Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University as chairman. Special recognition for assistance not recorded in the printed program is due to Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, to the many historians and librarians throughout the country who gave suggestions and advice, to the Chicago *Sun-Times* and the Chicago *Daily News,* and to Adlai Stevenson who honored the speakers' table with his presence at the annual dinner. The Executive Secretary, Boyd Shafer, stood by always with advice and a helping hand.

II

The opening general session, an innovation for the Association, sharpened the emphasis on the need for constant reinterpretation of the past. With Allan Nevins

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presiding, Sir Isaiah Berlin of Oxford University delivered a spirited attack on the concept of scientific history; H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University dealt with the historian and the social scientist; and C. Vann Woodward of Johns Hopkins University pointed to two main tasks in the present age of reinterpretation.

Sir Isaiah's witty paper, evoking frequent laughter from the crowded ballroom, described history as the richest of all human studies, entrusted not merely with the establishment of facts, but with their arrangement and analysis in convincing patterns of meaning. But he insisted that historical writing, with its essentially "undirectional flow," and in its interpretive aspects the weaving together of a wide variety of ideas and hypotheses, could never approach the standards of a pure science. It lies at the opposite pole from mathematics, which enjoys the highest degree of abstraction from nature; and it achieves its finest effects when it is highly descriptive in character.

Hughes agreed that history would cease to be itself if it deserted the literary and discursive mold in which its original practitioners cast it. He declared that conventional uses of statistics were less profitable than such relatively novel procedures as opinion surveys, sampling methods, and content analysis. It is important, he said, for historians to become sufficiently familiar with such tools in order to look with new eyes on the records of the past. The methods of cultural anthropology offer opportunities for the historian to bring together socioeconomic and psychological dimensions of history. He particularly recommended such a field study of social models as Bloch had made. Intensive on-the-spot examination of a small community would, he declared, best prepare the historian to make a social and psychological synthesis of data for a wider society.

Woodward suggested that the sudden ending of free security for Americans, the unbought natural safety of the oceans, might mark as important a shift in national destiny and the national character as the ending of the frontier which Turner announced in Chicago in 1893. The serenity of free security did as much as free homesteads to give us our boundless optimism, our faith in a wide national destiny. Now both are lost. He gave a lively description also of the opportunity for an extensive reinterpretation of military history opened up by the introduction of nuclear weapons, a more significant event than the invention of gunpowder.

A number of other sessions were devoted to various facets of the writing of history. The session strictly on historiography was chaired by Harold J. Grimm of Ohio State University. In "Historicism and Historical Judgment," Bruce Mazlish of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology traced the origins of historicism and added the concepts of historical realism and neutralism. The dilemma of historical relativism might be obviated by accepting the necessity of selecting and ordering materials according to some prior conception based on advanced philosophical speculation and refined social science. The historian accepts the challenge to discover historical reality, realizing that knowledge of that reality is relative. John C. Rule of Ohio State read the paper of Colin Rhys Lovell of the University of Southern California on "The Challenge of the Space-Time Continuum to Historical Thought." Lovell stated that history actually deals with forms

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of energy. Absolute time and space blur and conventional causation breaks down, for in the single dimension of the continuum all factors are causal. As men move beyond the earth, a new system of time expression will be needed to indicate a point in the continuum without reference to any body in it. Commentator Walter A. Sedelow, Jr., of Amherst College stressed the importance of linguistics and the social sciences for the historian and stated the necessity of specific examples to clarify the writing of history in the dimensions Lovell outlined.

At the Phi Alpha Theta luncheon, with Edwin B. Coddington of Lafayette College as chairman, Max Savelle, University of Washington, spoke on "Pure History (Historism) and Applied History (Historicism): No Conflict." The first function of history—historism or pure history—is to study the past for its own sake. Historicism, the second function, means the attempt to interpret the present "in terms of its historical development." The two functions are complements, for the historicist's investigations depend upon the work of the historist. Savelle said there could be "no prediction based upon the laws of history, since there are no such things as laws of history. . . ," although admittedly, "actuarial prediction is made every day with a high degree of accuracy, and this is essentially prediction of the future based upon what has happened in the past." The third function of history is closely related to the "problem of epistemology," arising from the historian's need to study how men in the past knew about themselves and their world. When the historian interprets human experience, history becomes, within limitations, a true philosophy, its fourth function.

George Kennan of the Institute of Advanced Study spoke on "The Experience of Writing History" at the Modern European History Section luncheon. Kennan was impressed by the numerous epistemological problems that plague historians, especially the issue of relativism and a certain sense of inadequacy, if not uncertainty, in final judgments of past events. The historian is a "lonely worker," removed from the world in order to find the time simply to write a major historical work. Chairman Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University conducted the business meeting. Secretary Gordon A. Craig of Princeton reported the nominations of Garrett Mattingly of Columbia for next year's chairman and C. E. Black of Princeton for the executive committee, replacing David Owen of Harvard, and the slate was declared elected.

A special luncheon meeting was held in memory of John Franklin Jameson, one of the founders of the American Historical Association. Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University, presided, and Waldo G. Leland, Director Emeritus of the American Council of Learned Societies, delivered a memorial address. In an eloquent appreciation of Jameson as a man and scholar, Leland surveyed Jameson's career as student, teacher, and administrator. He described Jameson as a "congenital scholar" with an astounding memory, an orderly mind, and a clear and felicitous literary style. Personally he was friendly, sympathetic, and humorous. Jameson's work as a scholar and promoter of historical scholarship was prodigious. He was editor of the *American Historical Review* from 1895 to 1928. He was responsible for the creation of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* and the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association. He initiated the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He also played

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a major role in the establishment of the National Archives.

The joint session with the American Jewish Historical Society, under the chairmanship of Bertram W. Korn, was regarded as unusually stimulating. "An Evaluation of Achievement in American Jewish Local Historical Writing," by Abraham G. Duker of the Chicago College of Jewish Studies, was devoted largely to a series of recommendations and unanswered questions. Duker urged the professional assembling of local archives to preserve materials, national seminars for rabbis and other nonhistorians, the stimulation of historical interest and record keeping by local organizational affiliates, and local groups' cooperation with the Jewish Historical Commission for the Civil War Centennial. Discussants Hyman Berman, Brooklyn College, and Selig Adler, University of Buffalo, agreed with Duker that the quality of local historical writing has improved during the past decade. Berman felt that the day of pure antiquarianism had passed. Adler stressed the need for additional bibliographic tools, indexes, and inventories and emphasized the necessity of basing publications on a sound understanding of backgrounds. Allan Nevins voiced his feeling that the significance of the Jewish contribution to American life had not received proper evaluation.

Sergius Yakobson of the Library of Congress introduced the speakers and discussants on "New Aids and New Ideas in Historical Research" as "historians in the disguise of librarians." Daniel J. Reed also of the Library of Congress described the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. He recounted the history of scholars' efforts to control the nation's manuscript collections and spoke of the recent establishment of the catalogue in the Library of Congress. Thomas R. Adams of the John Carter Brown Library spoke on the problem of the effective use of rare book collections. He suggested that the historian will find as much "new" material in rare book collections as in manuscript archives. Two elements were contrasted: the difference between rare book and general reference libraries, and the way a literary scholar as opposed to a historian approaches rare books. The first discussant, Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, lauded the National Union Catalog as the "greatest book to scholars." He agreed that not enough historians use rare books, tending to depend on unpublished manuscripts. Edwin Wolfe, the Library Company of Philadelphia, challenged all historians to make real use of original materials. He declared: "the usefulness of original printed works and documents stems a priori from the desire of the researcher to use them. . . . We have or will have the tools; give us the men."

III

Reevaluation and "new light" provided the keynote for the series of sessions on European civilization from ancient times to the present. For "The Impact on History of Discoveries in the Near East," with Solomon Katz of the University of Washington as chairman, Wallace E. Caldwell of the University of North Carolina showed how recent archaeological discoveries in the Middle East have added to the picture of Minoan-Mycenaen culture and vitally changed its interpretation. The decipherment of Linear B has solved some problems, but posed others. The

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early history of Greece therefore needs complete restudy, and Caldwell proposed several lines of inquiry. Ignace J. Gelb of the Oriental Institute reviewed recent archaeological discoveries in the Near East, contrasted Oriental with classical historiography, and discussed the latter's broader and more secular interests. The commentator, Tom B. Jones of the University of Minnesota challenged some points, but emphasized a problem involving both the Aegean and the Near East: the necessity for the decipherment of Linear A and for the study of hieroglyphic Hittite. Discussion from the floor revealed other facets of the several problems posed.

The session "New Light on the 'Dark' Ages," chaired by William C. Bark of Stanford, opened with Richard E. Sullivan of Michigan State University speaking on "Religious and Cultural Foundations of a New Order." Before the Carolingian era new conditions and experiences changed the ideological status of both bishop and monk and led to a new program of action. A different outlook also arose in the fourth century in education, the use of the classics, and in the modes of expression. In "Social and Economic Foundations of a New Order" David Herlihy of Bryn Mawr College indicated a change fundamental to the West's history—the full emergence of the peasantry. This process involved complicated modifications in farm operation, technology, and attitudes toward agricultural labor. Commentator Lynn White, jr., University of California, Los Angeles, agreed that the period was one of creativity on many fronts as evidenced in a new critical attitude and dynamism, the clarification of spatial relationships, and the invention of crank motion.

At the session on "Medieval Merchants and Trade: New Interpretations," Archibald R. Lewis of the University of Texas discussed the fluctuations of trade on the Rhone Valley route to Northern Europe, A.D. 300–1200. This natural route was important during early Roman times, then declined from 300 to the end of the imperial period. Conditions improved from A.D. 500–650, but a second decline occurred in the early eighth century; prosperity deteriorated in later Carolingian times. In the period of remarkable vitality after A.D. 1000 the route resumed its position as the single most important artery in Europe linking north and south. John W. Baldwin of the University of Michigan presented "Merchants in Medieval Society." Following the lead of Sombart, historians have too often depreciated the achievements and effectiveness of the medieval merchant and accepted the picture that the Church adhered to the formula: no merchant can please God. Thirty years of scholarly research has modified this view. Now the merchant is claimed to have been the imaginative and vigorous creator of a commercial revolution. James L. Cate of the University of Chicago served as commentator. He observed that medieval shipping costs were cheaper by land than by sea, emphasized the interdependence of economic and political elements, and posed the query as to what medieval man did to make the road safer for the traveler.

The dinner meeting of the Mediaeval Academy, with S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado presiding, featured John H. Mundy's "The *Jouvencel*: A Study in the Sociology of War." Written during the 1560's and 1570's, the book was designed to teach young men the art of war and to describe the career

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of the soldier. A fictionalized biography of Jean de Bueil, Admiral de France and Comte de Sancerre (the *Jouvencel*), was the means to this end. The work is divided into the three parts—ethics, economics, and politics—characteristic of moral-political writing during the Middle Ages. A definition of the profession or estate of the soldier is included in the *Jouvencel,* as is the relation of this estate to the other estates that together composed the body social. War was portrayed as elegant when well conducted, and it was filled with beauty, excitement, and danger. Mundy cited the social origins of the soldier, emphasizing the doctrine of nobility and the great rewards open to the military man.

Peter Charanis of Rutgers University presided over the session on "Byzantium: Greatness and Decline as Seen through the Eyes of Its Intellectuals." Paul Alexander of the University of Michigan, in his paper on Byzantium's greatness, emphasized three components of the Byzantine self-image: a religious-political ideology, a theory of kingship, and a justification of empire. All three adapted Roman views to the Christian environment of the Byzantine Empire and claimed the duty of civilizing and Christianizing the pagan world. Cyril Mango of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library in his comments pointed out that in the Byzantines' opinion their Empire was great by its own nature and that "Other nations which stood opposed . . . had no place in the divine dispensation, except as instruments of punishment" whenever the Empire deviated from the right. In his paper on "Decline" Ihor Ševčenko of Columbia showed that Byzantine intellectuals became aware of the Empire's political and cultural decadence. "Like their colleagues in all epochs, intellectuals of late Byzantium were best at criticizing, warning, and predicting, less good at detecting the cause of events and at offering constructive proposals." Speros Vryonis of Harvard commented that the eleventh-century crisis of the Empire had long before the fourteenth century made the Byzantines aware that there was something terribly wrong with their society.

Wallace K. Ferguson of the University of Western Ontario was chairman of the session on Machiavelli. Hans Baron of the Newberry Library, after stating the basic problem of reconciling Machiavelli's loyal republicanism with the doctrine of *The Prince,* reviewed the changing interpretations of Machiavelli's work during the past five centuries. Baron attempted to disprove the accepted view that *The Prince* was written during the period when Machiavelli was composing *The Discourses,* arguing that their irreconcilable points of view are explicable only on the assumption that *The Prince* was written in the fall of 1513 and *The Discourses* two or three years later. This thesis of the development of Machiavelli's thought from one work to the other would open the way to a new evaluation of the relation of Machiavelli's political theory to *quattrocento* humanism and of the conflict between republican liberty and rising absolutism. Myron Gilmore of Harvard questioned Baron's dating of the two works, casting doubts upon his conclusions. Francis O'Laughlin of Hobart and William Smith Colleges accepted the dating as a working hypothesis, but thought the conclusions drawn too extensive. Lively discussion followed.

Four sessions dealt with various topics related to the Reformation and religious history.

The "Reinterpretation of the Reformation" was discussed at the joint meet-

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ing with the American Society for Reformation Research under chairman George W. Forell, Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. Jaroslav Pelikan, University of Chicago, pointed out that the reinterpretation of the Council of Trent is the result of new editions of source materials and concern by Roman Catholic theologians for dialogue with separated Christians. Pelikan analyzed four alternatives, ranging from *scriptura et traditionibus* to *sola scriptura,* advocated at Trent. Both discussion and decrees must be understood as the resolution of divergent opinion in Catholic theology and not merely in relation to reformers on the outside. In his comment, Richard M. Douglas of Amherst took the position that Pelikan's generalizations retain their plausibility through extension to two other cases, the debate on the Biblical canon and the decree on justification, but the functions of doctrinal definition varied considerably between issues. George L. Mosse, University of Wisconsin, challenged the assumption that Puritanism is merely the English form of Calvinism. The existence of an active Puritan ideology has been established. The present task is to examine the ideology of the radical Puritan sects and their relationship both to the English revolution and to the beginnings of American history. In his comments, Edmund S. Morgan of Yale outlined additional areas needing further research.

Arthur Bestor, University of Illinois, presided over the session on "Religious Utopias and Reformers." Discussing "The Hussite Battle against the Free Spirit," Howard Kaminsky of the University of Washington examined the indebtedness of the Taborites to the medieval Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the eventual repudiation of the latter's ideas by a rapidly developing Hussite "party of order." In "Savonarola in Florence," Donald Weinstein of Roosevelt University argued that both Savonarola's political program and millenarian vision were "the *product* rather than the *cause* of the revolt" of November 1494 against Piero de' Medici. His millenarianism "was as much a reflection of late fifteenth-century Italian materialism and particularism, and of Florentine interests, as it was of Christian values." Leo F. Solt, Indiana University, analyzed the dilemma of "The Fifth Monarchy Men in England." Firm believers in the imminence of the millennium, they were unwilling to await it as "suffering" saints, but refused (save for the Venner insurrectionists) to resort to arms. Commentator John L. Phelan of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee made the point that millenarianism was "not monolithically radical"; such ideas may sometimes be directed toward the realization of traditional ideals. A lively debate ensued over the question as to whether the resemblances among the several movements described resulted from direct influence or whether similar conditions simply produced similar results.

A joint meeting with the American Society of Church History discussed "A Reevaluation of the Weber-Tawney Thesis" under Chairman Robert T. Handy of Union Theological Seminary. Karl H. Hertz of Wittenberg College presented "Max Weber and American Puritanism." American Puritanism, he said, offers a good test case of Weber's thesis that the attitudes of modern Western capitalism toward economic activity must be an outcome of attitudes initiated by Calvinism. Puritan literature reflects a moral discipline governing worldly activities and stressing specific economic virtues, particularly industriousness itself. Winthrop S. Hudson of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School suggested that Weber had set

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for himself a false problem when he assumed that "a man does not 'by nature' wish to earn more and more money but simply to live as he is accustomed to live and to earn as much as is necessary for that purpose." The clue to the transformation of the Calvinist concept into a comfortable doctrine congenial to an uninhibited commercial spirit is to be found in the waning of faith. Leonard J. Trinterud of McCormick Theological Seminary commented that the writings of Weber and Tawney must be seen as "tracts for the times"; it is not enough to stress the "waning of Puritanism," but it is necessary to give greater attention to the concomitant development of other patterns. Leo Strauss of the University of Chicago indicated that an important strand in such patterns had been carried by Puritanism, though it originated from a different source; the "science of economics," stemming from Machiavelli and Bacon, omitted the Calvinist concern for the "common good," but could be transmitted by Puritanism. Sydney Ahlstrom of Yale created a furor by stating that since their aims were so different Weber and Tawney should not be linked as cosponsors of a thesis.

At the joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association on "Status in Elizabethan Society," William R. Trimble, Loyola University (Chicago), traced the government's regulation of the Roman Catholic gentry through Elizabeth's reign. Although government policy attempted to induce conformity by fines and imprisonment, records prove the existence of recusant gentry in certain areas protected by sympathetic local officials. After the mid-1570's, pressure was light, but it became much more severe thereafter, although capital punishment remained rare. In "The Status of the Urban Merchant," Wallace MacCaffrey of Haverford College limited himself to the provincial merchants, socially near the lower level of gentility. A spotty picture is recorded of economic depression in some towns and prosperity in others. Heavy political burdens were placed on the townsmen; the merchants also had to bear responsibility for educational and social welfare institutions necessitated by the religious changes. Despite their considerable achievements, MacCaffrey felt that the merchants' status vis à vis the gentry probably declined. Leading the discussion, Eric McDermott of Georgetown noted the rising status of the yeomen and examined the recusant gentry in exile and the execution of potential recusant leaders. Philip Hughes, University of Notre Dame, served as chairman.

A number of sessions were devoted to various examples of transnational problems, though the broad subject of cultural interchange per se did not receive the solid treatment it deserves.

The session on "The Enlightenment in France and America," led by Raymond G. Carey of the University of Denver, first heard Peter Gay of Columbia on "The Philosophy of Energy: Rethinking the French Enlightenment." Prominent among the characteristics of the French philosophers were their individual inner conflicts and their common and almost obsessive dedication to work. They were exhilarated by "the crisis of freedom," but they were also harrassed by anxieties as the old social order crumbled about them. The result was an outpouring of dynamic intellectual energy directed toward literary innovation, scientific research, and social reform. Adrienne Koch of the University of California stated in "Pragmatic Wisdom and the American Enlightenment" that the think-

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ing of Franklin and Jefferson placed wisdom and pragmatic inquiry in conjunction. Franklin founded the Society for Political Enquiries to study politics in the same manner as the American Philosophical Society was created to study nature; Jefferson considered "The American Experiment" to be a testing of human potentialities under conditions of greater liberty and equality. Brooke Hindle, New York University, expertly knit the two papers together and called attention to questions that invited further exploration.

With Robert R. Palmer presiding, two papers were read at a session devoted to the spread of revolutionary ideas outside France at the time of the French Revolution. Joseph I. Shulim of Brooklyn College told of John Daly Burk, an Irish patriot who fled to America in 1796. Burk became a journalist and dramatic writer in Boston and New York and plunged actively into support of the Republican party, whose views he identified with the revolutionary movement in Europe; after indictment under the Sedition Act he fled to Virginia where he was well received. Shulim concluded that the democratic outlook which Burk brought from Ireland greatly assisted in his assimilation to the American scene. Henry B. Hill of the University of Wisconsin spoke on the revolution in Italy between 1795 and 1799, and in particular on the constitution of the Ligurian Republic. After surveying conflicting historical views he emphasized the native Italian sources of the Ligurian constitution, which was more democratic than the French themselves desired. Harold T. Parker of Duke University opened general discussion by observing how the papers illustrated three central themes: the revolution of the west, the effect of ideas on large-scale action, and the changing historiography of a minor historical figure and a controversial subject.

The session on "Socialist Theory and Balkan History" was presided over by Charles Jelavich, University of California, Berkeley. Wayne S. Vucinich of Stanford analyzed "Marxian Interpretations of the First Serbian Revolution." One group of Yugoslav historians contends that the Serbian revolution had either a "national liberation" or "agrarian" character and that it could not have been "bourgeois" because Serbia lacked a middle class. The opposing "official" group insists that the revolution was indeed "bourgeois democratic" because Serbia had at least a "rural bourgeoisie." Vucinich concluded that at least these historians are publishing valuable documentary material. In "Dimitar Blagoev—a Bulgarian Marxist Interprets His Country's History," Joseph Rothschild of Columbia discussed the social and economic history of Bulgaria in the nineteenth century and showed that, contrary to Blagoev's predictions, the artisan class did not become "proletarianized" nor did the collapse of Ottoman "feudalism" lead to capitalism. Nevertheless, Blagoev's interpretation of Bulgarian history as progression from feudalism to capitalism influenced the young Bulgarian socialist movement toward Marxism. The commentators, James F. Clarke of the University of Pittsburgh and William Vettes of Wisconsin State College, La Crosse, expressed satisfaction with the papers but pointed out the difficulties confronting Communist historians writing about Balkan history.

Other problems of class were involved in the session on "The Role of Aristocracies," with Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago acting as chairman. Christopher Bennett Becker of Yale, in "Aristocracy and Civil Service Legisla-

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tion in Russia, 1720–1785," pointed out the failure of the nobility before Peter the Great to provide a competent bureaucracy, and explained Peter's "Table of Ranks" of 1722 as an effort to make nobles out of nonnoble bureaucrats and good administrators out of nobles. The old nobility sabotaged this effort after Peter's death. In "The English Aristocracy and Public Opinion, 1790–1830," David Spring of Johns Hopkins argued that the Whig aristocracy, particularly Henry Brougham, sought to identify itself with the county meeting, and its advocacy of parliamentary reform was in response to public opinion in the distressed countryside. Frederick Gillen of Wabash College, in "The Role of the Aristocracy in Post-Revolutionary France," indicated that though titles today have only an honorific status in French law, there is still a recognizable noble class: statesmen, generals and admirals, landowners and diplomats, and men of letters and scholars. Rarely, however, do they engage in the professions or politics, nor, if they enter the church, do they become secular clergy. The discussion, led by E. C. Thaden of Pennsylvania State University, centered upon whether the authors had distinguished with sufficient clarity between "aristocracy," "nobility," and "gentry" or had exploited sufficiently such social science concepts as "role theory."

The Society for Italian Historical Studies, in a session with George A. Carbone of the University of Mississippi in the chair, commemorated 1859. In a reevaluation of the role of Cavour, Denis Mack Smith of Peterhouse, Cambridge, offered high praise for the Cavour of 1859 as opportunist, temporizer, Machiavellian, Piedmontese patriot rather than nationalist. In the new portrait Cavour emerged more the man and less the saint. Raymond Grew of Princeton extended the reevaluation from the man to the men of 1859 and to their programs. Grew contended that the earlier veil of liberalism was replaced by a more realistic cloak of conservatism draped on the scene by the moderates, who were interested more in a change in authorities than in the overthrow of the established socioeconomic structure. R. John Rath of the University of Texas pinpointed the new issues raised by these reevaluations. The commentary on the military aspects of the problems of 1859 from the floor and a series of thoughtful questions indicated the speakers' success.

At the joint session with the History of Science Society, I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard described Newton's personality and his interests in alchemy, chemistry, theology, and chronology. His paper concluded with a résumé of work in progress on Newton's mathematical procedures, physical ideas, and creation and revision of the *Principia*. Throughout was the theme of Newton as historian, of nature and of truth. Walter F. Cannon, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, argued that Darwin's world picture was a transferal to biology of ideas of adaptation and progress drawn from the English school of natural theology. "The Darwinian controversy was in large part an argument as to whether or not to accept a secular explanation of a Christian world picture. Darwin defeated Christianity by stealing its universe." C. C. Gillispie of Princeton, who presided and served as commentator, suggested that, though the scientist might or might not take his picture of the world from Christianity, science both in Darwin and in Newton reduced neither to that world view, nor to the Romantic one, but rather to the objective ontology originating in ancient atomism.

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At the joint meeting with the Society for the History of Technology on "Interpretations of the Industrial Revolution" A. Rupert Hall of the University of California, Los Angeles, was in the chair. John U. Nef, University of Chicago, stated that the Industrial Revolution resulted from the solution of three technological problems: making iron with coal fuel; driving mine pumps by steam power; transporting coal from the pits. Other factors contributed, notably in the nineteenth century, drawing "human knowledge and energy into the service of material development as never before." Melvin Kranzberg, Case Institute of Technology, defined an industrial revolution's attributes as changes in basic materials, fuel and motive power, and machines; in the means of communication; in economic and social structure; and after the mid-nineteenth century, in the application of science. John Geise, University of Pittsburgh, agreed that both the individual creative impulse and the accumulation of knowledge are necessary for technological progress. By considering both technological and nontechnological factors, the causation of industrial change should become more fully discoverable.

The session on "The Old Diplomacy" met under the chairmanship of Theodore S. Hamerow, University of Wisconsin. Keith Eubank of North Texas State College read "France: Diplomats of the Third Republic," analyzing the influence of French ambassadors on foreign affairs in the pre-1914 period. He offered as case studies Jules Cambon in Berlin, Camille Barrère in Rome, and Paul Cambon in London. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., of North Carolina State College dealt with "Austria-Hungary: Francis Joseph's Diplomats after the *Ausgleich*." The aim of their foreign policy between 1870 and 1882 was the defense of the *status quo*. The multinational nature of the state allotted considerable freedom of action to ministers and ambassadors. Yet the fundamental pessimism of the Hapsburg Empire blocked the achievement of their objectives. Commentator Lawrence D. Steefel, University of Minnesota, called for a reappraisal of the old diplomacy, analyzing the way in which changing material and spiritual conditions affect the practice of statecraft.

At the luncheon session of the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University, was the speaker, and Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia, presided. Byrnes reviewed American scholarly interest in Russian history beginning in the years just before the First World War. During the 1930's, the dozen or so American historians specializing in Russian history concentrated on the nineteenth century. Since World War II, however, the enlarged group of historians has emphasized Soviet history since 1917 and political and intellectual developments since 1890. We should turn our attention in some degree from current history to an earlier era, such as the revolutionary developments of the decade following the Crimean War.

The Conference Group for Central European History sponsored the session on "Reinterpreting Modern German History." Andreas Dorpalen, Ohio State University, stated that Wilhelmian liberalism was not crippled by Bismarck alone but by its inherent limitations, such as imperfect communications between civil and military authorities. The army served as a counterweight to political irresponsibility, and despite its limitations, the empire was the only feasible government for the times. Eric Kollman, Cornell College, stated in "The Weimar

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Republic" that social tensions kept the era in a condition of civil war. The compromise character of the republic and its lack of a strong central authority weakened the government in a period of violent ideological conflict, and the conservatives' political ineptness doomed it. Today, no one doubts the German responsibility for having provoked World War II, or the criminality of the Nazi regime, stated Harold C. Deutsch, University of Minnesota. Current interest centers on the relation between the course of German history and the Third Reich, and on the tension between opposition movements and the Third Reich. In the regrettable absence of Koppel Pinson, comment was by both panel and audience.

John L. Snell of Tulane was in the chair for the program on "New Light on the 1930's." David B. Stenzel of Stanford argued that Hitler's post-Munich policy toward Czechoslovakia was largely determined by his Polish policy. By early February 1939 Hitler concluded that neither his courtship of Warsaw nor his encouragement of Greater Ukranian aspirations would move the Poles to join the Anti-Comintern Pact and surrender Danzig peacefully. He then reversed his Czechoslovak policy to build up his military forces around as many sides of Poland as possible. Robert L. Koehl of the University of Nebraska contended that any satisfactory treatment of the SS must be pluralistic, taking account of the opportunistic way in which it grew and the diverse character and functions of its "self-contained" branches. Gerhard L. Weinberg of the University of Michigan and Dietrich Gerhard, Washington University and the University of Cologne, praised the authors' originality, expressed some reservations about their theses, raised new questions, and offered suggestions for additional research.

IV

The sessions devoted primarily to the history of the United States "reconsidered" a number of old problems and broke new ground on others.

One of the sessions of a general nature was the American Studies Association's joint luncheon. Arthur S. Link, Northwestern, introduced Marcus Cunliffe of the University of Manchester, England, now visiting at Harvard. In "American Attitudes to the Past" Cunliffe noted the practice of historians of characterizing the events or epochs about which they are writing as "watersheds" or "turning points." He questioned the idea of "a too fundamental discontinuity between a remoter and a more recent past." The important point is that there is something characteristically American about the view of the past implied in the idea of a watershed. Despite the surprising degree of continuity in American history, in comparison with that of most European nations, it has been accompanied by a widespread belief in discontinuity. This is a reflection of a historic tug of war in the American mind between "past and future: between primitivism and progress, wilderness and settlement, simplicity and multiplicity, Arcadia and Enterprise."

In the meeting on early American liberalism, presided over by Stow Persons of the State University of Iowa, Raymond Stearns of the University of Illinois repudiated the traditional interpretation of John Wise of Ipswich as an early American democrat. He stated that Wise's application of democratic principles was restricted

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to a defense of traditional congregational church polity against presbyterian innovations, and that in politics Wise was an Old Whig committed to mixed government. James M. Smith of the Institute of Early American History and Culture felt that Stearns had done less than justice to the significance of Wise's use of democratic theory in church government. Max Savelle, University of Washington, traced the elements of an emergent liberalism (ideology of change) in the political, religious, and economic ideas of the mid-eighteenth century. Smith assented to the analysis, but suggested that the practical pluralism of the American situation provided a setting in which liberal ideas seemed peculiarly appropriate.

William Vans Murray was appointed by President John Adams as envoy to France less as a means of assuring peace with France than as a means of averting civil war at home, according to the paper read by Stephen G. Kurtz of Wabash College at the session on "Early American Nationalism." Paul A. Varg, Michigan State University, indicated that Jefferson's and Madison's nationalism was based on a combination of ideals and practical economic interests. England's blockade hurt the shipowners, the agricultural classes, and the efforts of the United States in Florida and Latin America. Chief Justice John Marshall was a pragmatist who saw the needs of his times and attempted to shape the Constitution to meet those needs, but not to develop an omnipotent federal judiciary, according to Paul L. Murphy, University of Minnesota. Alfred H. Kelly, Wayne State University, took exception to Murphy's use of the term "pragmatist," insisting that Marshall was a nationalist. Martin Ridge, San Diego State College, and Kelly questioned Kurtz's evidence for his interpretation of Adams' action. Varg's emphasis on the agrarian classes was also discussed. John D. Barnhart of Indiana University presided.

"The Southern City, 1820 to 1860" was the subject of a joint session with the Southern Historical Association and the Urban History Group, under the chairmanship of Bayrd Still of New York University. Richard C. Wade, University of Rochester, traced a pattern of early growth, stagnation, and ultimate decline in slaveholding which differentiated the urban from the rural South. Urban slaves often achieved a status nearer that of whites than did their plantation counterparts, stimulating efforts to achieve a kind of segregation which anticipated later practices. Herbert Weaver of Vanderbilt asserted that in the Deep South the immigrant population was more highly urbanized than in any other region of the nation. He cited the history of Mobile to illustrate the forces attracting the foreign-born and to show the contribution of the immigrants to its development. John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College, in his discussion, implied that without slavery the South would have had even greater appeal for the foreign-born and recommended studying the relationship of the presence of free laborers to the decline of slavery in the southern city.

At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Larry Gara, Grove City College, spoke on "The Underground Railroad: A Reevaluation," examining accounts of numerous dedicated abolitionists who aided a flood of fugitives. Actually only a small percentage of slaves escaped, and most of them alone and unaided. Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky discussed

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"Slave Hiring in the Old South: A Step toward Freedom." He saw the growing system as subtly changing the character of slavery and weakening it as an institution, especially in the cities and wherever industry took root. Avery O. Craven, University of Chicago, as commentator, emphasized the need for realistic contrasts between the operations of slavery in the South and the free system in the North, citing examples to show how the same documentary materials could be used to serve opposing partisan theses. Chairman Louis Filler of Antioch College stated that special hypotheses, rather than antislavery experience, have recently been emphasized. He suggested the organization of a group that would put studies on a more permanent and consistent footing.

At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Richard N. Current of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina attacked the one-sided view of the "Carpetbaggers" propagated by their enemies and accepted by historians. He redefined carpetbaggers as white northerners who went south after the beginning of the Civil War and, sooner or later, became involved in politics as Republicans. He presented as a representative group the sixty-two whites elected to Congress. Most were veterans of the Union army; had academic and intellectual attainments higher than those of the general population of the North; fifty had arrived in the South before Reconstruction began in 1867; only fifteen came as civil governmental officials. Hence carpetbaggers were not ignorant, poverty-stricken politicians who came south to reap the benefits of political reconstruction but a part of the multitude of Union officers and soldiers who sought new homes in the frontier South and West. When Reconstruction came these settlers felt that they had not only a right but a duty to help in reuniting the nation.

Ray A. Billington of Northwestern presided over the session "New Light on the West." Howard R. Lamar of Yale showed that New Mexico's territorial history was shaped by Spanish-Mexican political habits and rambunctious customs introduced by a few Americans. The factions in this "politics of disunity" were united only under the notorious Santa Fe land speculation ring. Utah, however, was unanimous in resisting the Americanization of the area's institutions. Lamar emphasized the frontier's conservatism and dedication to the *status quo*. Norman Graebner's "Politics and the Oregon Compromise" maintained that the 1846 settlement could take place only after the issue had run the full gamut of politics. Whigs split in half while Democrats divided three ways. Graebner concluded that the principal result was the weakening of party ties shortly before the slavery question was to subject them to further strain. W. Eugene Hollon of the University of Oklahoma remarked that Lamar had shown the failure of the Northwest Ordinance to operate successfully in the trans-Mississippi West, and added that these political conflicts did much to explain the twentieth-century political history of Utah and New Mexico. Paul F. Sharp of Hiram College suggested that Graebner proved the political ineptitude of President Polk, and showed that the tensions that disrupted the Democratic party during the 1850's were in ferment during the Oregon debate.

Economists' views were sought in the joint session with the Economic History Association. "The Turnerian Frontier Process: Generator of Social and Economic Opportunity," prepared by Arnold Zellner of the University of Wash-

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ington and George G. S. Murphy of Stanford (read by Murphy), concluded that the frontier did, as Turner suggested, account for much that was unusual, if not unique, in the economic development of the United States. The discovery and exploitation of "new" natural resources were basic to a process of sequential economic growth that attracted entrepreneurs, stimulated capital accumulation, and provided opportunities for native-born and immigrants. An important contribution of the paper was its somewhat sophisticated economic analysis. The first discussant, George Pierson of Yale, was critical of the paper primarily because the authors utilized too much of the "jargon" of economists; they confused the meaning of the "Turnerian frontier" with the opening of the West; and they tended to neglect noneconomic forces. Norman J. Simler of the University of Minnesota, on the other hand, termed the authors' argument concerning the socioeconomic impact of the West on the United States as "thoroughly convincing." He explained why past discussions of the "safety valve theory" have been so sterile and suggested that the frontier may have stimulated an American labor movement rather than retarded it as has been generally assumed.

The Lexington Group's session on "British Influences on American Railway Development," led by Ralph W. Hidy of Harvard, presented A. W. Currie of the University of Toronto on "British Attitudes toward Investment in North American Railroads." Though British investors' motives were complex, they relied heavily on advice of merchant bankers prior to the Civil War, while after that period "most British investors bought American rails because of their intrinsic worth, in the hope of a speculative profit, or at the suggestion of brokers." Bonds attracted more investors than stocks, and they generally brought a good return until sold during the two world wars. Commentator Harry W. Pierce of Syracuse University insisted that much detailed research was desirable if an accurate picture were to be presented. Robert E. Carlson of the University of Pittsburgh challenged the idea that American railways were developed independently of English experience. He showed that between 1824 and 1830 three groups sent engineers to inspect and report on British roads, canals, docks, bridges, and railways, and certain features were adopted or modified by American railroad builders. Carl W. Condit of Northwestern agreed with Carlson and added examples of other British contributions on trestle and bridge construction.

At the joint session with the Agricultural History Society, Morton Rothstein of the University of Delaware emphasized the dependence of the United States and Great Britain, especially after 1879, on foreign wheat markets. Superior grading, shipping, and storage together with futures trading gave the United States advantages rival nations could not offset with lower domestic wheat prices. Discussant Emerson M. Brooks, United States Department of Agriculture, presented statistics supporting statements in the paper lacking quantitative measurement. "Pigs, Politics, and Protection: The American Pork Boycott in Europe," by John L. Gignilliat of the University of Wisconsin, described European resistance to pork importation, indicating ten countries which at some time from 1789 to 1891 excluded United States pork either in part or *in toto*. Federal inspection and retaliatory measures in trade restriction arose. Some countries desiring lower cost food gradually dropped restrictions and the export of pork grew to a new

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high in 1894. Brooks emphasized that trade restrictions played a major role in instituting meat inspection in the United States in 1891. A request, resulting in a motion and voice vote, was that the Department of Agriculture assemble statistical information on a historical basis, using comparable indexes or values throughout the entire history of important products or data series.

Another interdisciplinary session, presided over by Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, examined the field of social stratification. Jackson T. Main, San Jose State College, emphasized that sociologists and anthropologists had found that the class structure was related to all other aspects of culture. Many of their discoveries and techniques were useful to historians, but sociologists had not adequately considered the factors causing change. This was properly the obligation of the reinterpreting historians. Seymour Lipset, sociology department, University of California, Berkeley, using historical data in contrast to Main's sociological data, surveyed "Classes and Parties in American Political History." "Men are motivated to seek their self-interest," including status striving and satisfaction of resentments, and parties have been and are based on class and group interests. Robert Cross, Columbia, criticized Lipset for inadequate research in early American history and questioned his categories of "noneconomic liberalism." He also questioned Main's presupposition of economic determinism and his emphasis on geographical areas to the exclusion of classes and ethnic and religious groups. In the question period criticism was directed against oversimplified, static, and exclusively statistical interpretation of social phenomena.

V

The joint session with the Conference on British Studies dealt with the Mahratta section of India. Joseph Ink of Fenn College spoke on the consolidation of British rule under Lord Hastings, 1813 to 1823. He maintained that Hastings was responsible for the division into British India and the native states, and went as far as he could at the time because of the climate of opinion. Ink argued that if the British had taken over direct rule at this time India would have been ready for independence before 1947. Stanley Wolpert of the University of California, Los Angeles, described the reactions of the intellectuals to British rule under this system, 1842–1897, emphasizing the contrasting political and social philosophy of Gokhale and Tilak. Both wanted self-government, but to Tilak this goal was all important while to Gokhale the goal was a gradual process of change, and hence he was willing to defer self-government until all his fellow men could share it. Holden Furber read the comment of Mark Naidis of Los Angeles Valley College, which was very critical of some of Ink's conclusions and to a lesser extent, of Wolpert's. Donald Grove Barnes presided.

Another session on the British Empire was presided over by Paul Knaplund, University of Wisconsin. Samuel C. McCulloch, Rutgers, stressed that the execution of the program for the treatment of aborigines in eastern Australia was delegated to the colonial authorities. While Sir George Gipps was governor of New South Wales, frontiersmen and natives clashed frequently, with the natives always losing. Gipps's efforts to protect them failed, and during the 1840's it was

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generally believed that the aborigines would become extinct. Charles S. Blackton, Colgate University, argued that an Australian nationalism developed in the nineteenth century as an awareness of Australian interests, and disputes with the mother country drew the Australian colonies together, paving the way for their federation. The emergence of Australian federation coincided with mounting international friction, according to Donald C. Gordon, University of Maryland. In response to Britain's urging, Australia assumed more responsibility for imperial defense by launching a navy and adopting compulsory military training for males over twelve years of age.

Speaking at the Conference on Asian History luncheon, H. G. Creel traced the idea of examination back to Shên Pu-hai, a little-known Chinese statesman of the fourth century B.C. Living at a time when belief in the divine character of rulers had almost disappeared and respect for authority was at a low ebb, Shên Pu-hai attempted to develop techniques by which the ruler could control his officials. Examination was one of these techniques, and it was used extensively in China from the second century B.C. onward. The use of such examination in Europe came after the Chinese practice was widely known, Chinese influence thereby appearing likely. Other early cultures—in India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome—did not have examination, but examination has played an increasingly important role in history.

The Conference on Asian History, with Eugene Boardman of the University of Wisconsin in the chair, attempted a wide-ranging comparison of "Marxism in Asia." George M. Beckmann, University of Kansas, spoke on "Marxist Historiography in Japan," Gene D. Overstreet, Swarthmore, on "The Marxist View of Modern India," and Albert Feuerwerker, Harvard and the University of Michigan, on "China's History in Marxian Dress." In Japan several schools of interpretation developed in the 1920's and again after 1945 whose main mission was to interpret the early Meiji era. Indian history has only recently been of interest to the Marxists because of a European orientation accustomed to consider Indian developments as reproducing European progress. The record is one of premature, excessive anticipation of Western-style institutions, although the degree of distortion is now declining as Westernization proceeds. Chinese Communist historians, impressed by China's great historiographical tradition, have been constrained completely to rewrite China's history. These historians paradoxically are being forced to resurrect and incorporate portions of the Chinese heritage that their ideological forebears had earlier discarded.

Two sessions were devoted to Latin America. At the luncheon meeting of the Conference on Latin American History, Robert Burr, University of California, Los Angeles, spoke on the burgeoning Association for Latin American Studies, which seeks to enhance cooperation between disciplines and among existing organizations. The chairman, Charles Griffin of Vassar, announced the election of Irving Leonard of the University of Michigan as chairman of the Conference for 1960. Hugh Hamill, Ohio Wesleyan, reported the establishment by students of Clarence H. Haring of the Haring Prize Fund from which periodic awards will be made for works on Latin American history. The Bolton Prize for 1959 was divided between Robert J. Shafer of Syracuse University for his *Economic*

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Societies in the Spanish World and John J. Johnson of Stanford for *Political Change in Latin America*. The Robertson Prize was awarded to Russell H. Bastert for his article "A New Approach to the Origin of Blaine's Pan-American Policy."

The joint session with the Conference on Latin American History, which met under the chairmanship of Harold A. Bierck, University of North Carolina, was on "The Causes of Latin American Independence," and included papers by Robert J. Shafer of Syracuse University, Charles W. Arnade of the University of Florida, and Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania. Bailey W. Diffie of the City College of New York served as commentator. Arnade maintained that Spanish liberal ideas and articulate Catholic thought were as influential in the political ideas of Latin American revolutionary leaders as were American and French writings.

VI

Four sessions were concerned directly with problems of education, and two with mass media.

At the luncheon of the National Council for the Social Studies the topic was "New Challenges in History Teaching." Robert Keohane of Shimer College served as chairman. Erling M. Hunt of Teachers College, Columbia, reviewed the long record of the American Historical Association in responding to challenges in education, but found little attention to teaching in colleges and graduate schools. He identified the fragmentation of courses in history and the social sciences as a serious block to effective preparation of teachers. General education programs have sought new principles for unifying knowledge, but later specialized courses in colleges and graduate schools still neglect interrelationships within the fields of history and the social sciences. Hunt concluded that the key to better instruction at all levels is the restoration of teaching, now displaced by research specialization, as the primary responsibility of colleges and a major responsibility of graduate schools. John Haefner of the State University of Iowa agreed and added that the time had come to establish a model curriculum in the social studies by a national effort.

As part of the session "Attempts to Maintain Orthodoxy in American Higher Education," James F. Hopkins of the University of Kentucky presented a paper on the pressures applied in the past for doctrinal purity in college teaching, purity being defined by vociferous groups within the public constituency of the institution. Robert Iversen, Pennsylvania State University, spoke on the college professor's participation in the active politics of his day. He concluded that a professor might be expected, normally, to make his best contribution in an advisory or research role, assisting the executive or the legislative to draft legislation that is politically possible, sound, and ethical. Merle L. Borrowman of the University of Wisconsin noted the similarity between a professor's participation in liberal religious and political expression, and pointed out that a professor, to be effective, must fashion his role within limits imposed by the religious and political maturity of the college's constituency. The chairman, Ellis E. Jensen, Regent, University of

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Wisconsin, closed by saying that educational institutions will be a disturbing influence to many people in society, but they cannot cease being so without becoming sterile.

The hundredth anniversary of John Dewey's birth was observed in papers on "The Impact of John Dewey upon American Culture." Sidney Ratner of Rutgers propounded an experimental theory of history "in line with the theory of scientific inquiry Dewey developed during his lifetime." He argued that "history involves experiments and, in fact, is experiment to the same extent as descriptive astronomy, geography, and geology." He took issue with the concept of history earlier espoused by Sir Isaiah Berlin. Lawrence Cremin, Teachers College, Columbia, traced the history of the progressive education movement and indicated Dewey's early identification with and ultimate criticism of progressivism. Rena L. Vassar of Indiana University stressed the importance of new studies on Dewey's impact and assailed the "patronizing and derisive attitude toward Dewey" which rises from neglect of the educational history of his era. Vigorous discussion centered on the conflict of views between Ratner and Berlin—a conflict in some respects more apparent than real. Howard E. Wilson, University of California, Los Angeles, presided.

At a session of the American Historical Association's Committee on Graduate Education in History, presided over by Dexter Perkins, papers were read by Hunter Dupree of the University of California, Berkeley, and Gordon Craig of Princeton. Dupree stressed the necessity of accelerating the doctorate program. The student at California is now advised that he must take his general examinations at the end of the second year or the fifth semester. Otherwise, he must petition for an extension. In discussing the Princeton program Craig suggested early selection of the thesis subject, but indicated that such selection was practicable only if there were a reduction of course requirements and an advisory system. Princeton has introduced a course called "Teaching History at the College Level," in which are discussed among other things classroom technique, preparation of lectures, and examinations.

Because the intellectual neither understands the technical requirements of the mass media nor fairly assesses their products, he finds himself a futile critic instead of an effective participant in these powerful educational forces, asserted Leo Rosten of *Look* magazine. Speaking at the session on "The Interpretation of History in Movies and Television," chaired by Charles van Ravenswaay, Missouri Historical Society, Rosten noted that the mass media are meant for the majority of our population who, rather than the producer, shape the product. He feels they present much of quality, including intellectual material of limited public interest. Martin J. Maloney of the School of Speech, Northwestern, stated that a large quantity of historical material is being presented by movies and television and explained the technical requirements of translating historical data into dramatic form. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard, urged that neither the intellectual nor the government should be lulled into accepting a downward spiral in quality, for the problems of television represent a challenge to social inventiveness.

"The Interpretation of History in Magazines and Newspapers," presided over

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by Raymond Walters, Jr., of the New York *Times,* was the second session on mass media. In "Journalism—History's New Handmaiden," James Parton of the American Heritage Publishing Company observed that the paths of history and journalism have steadily converged during the past three decades to the advantage of both. Thus far, however, journalists have profited more than historians. The historian ought not to be satisfied with pedantry or poor writing, but should help make history a branch of creative literature. Douglass Cater, Washington correspondent for *The Reporter,* described journalists' work as "the first drafting of history." He warned of the men and forces that "tamper" with this draft, and regretted that there are not sufficient media to rectify the shortcomings of the day-to-day operations of the press. Cater believed that journalists would benefit from closer relationship with the historian and vice versa. Bernard A. Weisberger, University of Chicago, commented that the gap between historians and journalists is wider today than a century ago. "Though they might well use each other's materials and approaches," he concluded, "they must always remain alert to the things which divide them."

VII

In the session "Racial Theory and Its Applications," led by Harvey Wish of Western Reserve, Philip D. Curtin, University of Wisconsin, showed that systematic pseudoscientific racial thought had a major bearing on the theories of British imperialism, coinciding with its golden age and guiding colonial officials. When pseudoscientific reason fell from grace, xenophobia shifted to other grounds. George M. Kren of Elmira College indicated how racial ideas in the technical sense developed only in the eighteenth century when means for racial classification originated. In anti-Semitism, the central idea changed from its religious basis to the nationalistic view that Jews are alien to the nation. As blood was thought to determine character, deportation or extermination seemed to be the solution. Sociologist Raymond Mack of Northwestern commented that contemporary racists still insist on two basic "justifications" for racism: that God intended it and that science says it is so. When men define situations as real, the consequences are real, as in the case of the Nuremberg laws. And one can legislate morality; the Chinese Communists are doing it to achieve their objectives.

At "The History of Social Welfare," with Rachel Marks of the University of Chicago presiding, W. K. Jordan of Harvard spoke on "The English Backgrounds of Modern Philanthropy." He dealt with the period 1480 to 1660, which was marked by "a great surge of charities" and "an abiding shift in men's aspiration for their society." He found an increasing sensitivity to human suffering and a desire to relieve it, and noted a shift from religious to secular causes and needs. In commenting, Lacey Baldwin Smith of Northwestern wondered if a motivation of the merchants and gentry may have been their view of charity as a social obligation. Frank Pegues of Ohio State University questioned the shift to secular giving, pointing out that the scarce documents on charity in the medieval period need careful study. Irvin G. Wyllie, University of Wisconsin, noted that philan-

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thropists are not necessarily nobly motivated or farsighted in their approach to social need.

The joint meeting with the American Military Institute reviewed Clausewitz' dictum that warfare is a continuation of politics by other means. James D. Atkinson of Georgetown summarized Communist theory relating to this theme in the thought of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao-tse-tung. Each regarded nonviolent measures to be as important as, if not more important than, military force to obtain Communism's triumph. Eugene M. Emme of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration dealt with the effect of technological changes upon the application of the theory. He showed how during World War II leaders brandished air weapons to achieve objectives and held back on advanced weapons for political purposes. John K. Mahon of the University of Florida, who also served as chairman in the absence of Victor Gondos, Jr., commented on the lack of an American public philosophy as effective as that of the Communists to clarify the relationship between the nation's military and nonmilitary elements. William H. Russell of the Naval Academy demonstrated that both papers recognized the increased and much-desired use of direct means to achieve national objectives (he placed military force among indirect means).

Bell I. Wiley of Emory University discussed "The Role of the Archivist in the Civil War Centennial" at the joint session with the Society of American Archivists under Chairman Mary Givens Bryan of the Georgia Department of Archives and History. The archivist's most important function in connection with the centennial is to help promote a better understanding of the war and its importance in history. The basic requirement for this understanding is an adequacy of sources. Here the archivist can participate effectively by taking a leading role in the collection of materials, providing for their proper preservation, and facilitating their use by scholars and other interested people. The archivist should use his influence to see that the centennial is observed in a dignified manner, with an informative, objective program, incorporating all phases of conflict and all elements of the population.

Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky presided over the session of the Association for State and Local History. Nicholas Morgan, Utah State Historical Society, reviewed the services that an alert historical society could render a local community, making a plea for the preservation of historic landmarks and source materials. In some respects the dedication of local sites is an act of reeducation of a community. Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers showed how the academic historian depends upon the work of the local societies to supply him the grass roots sources with which he works. Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston Athenaeum, viewed the scholar using the local historical society collections from long years of experience and with rich human understanding of both scholars and societies. In discussing the papers, Clifford Lord of Columbia placed the local society in a clear and dignified perspective in the larger area of historical research, writing, and publication.

Harry J. Benda of Yale opened a lively session, led by Stanley Pargellis, on "The Role of the Intellectual in Stability and Crisis," by stating that as a rule intellectuals have not been political actors in their own right, chiefly because they

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do not belong to a wealthy or military class, but occasionally they have performed ancillary political functions delegated them by others. In revolutions they may, for a time, come to wield political power, but they are unseated when social normalization occurs. Robert V. Daniels of the University of Vermont divided intellectuals in Russia into: the "literary intelligentsia," the incubator of the revolutionary movement; the "quasi-intelligentsia," the Communists who under Stalin stifled the genuine intellectuals; and the "technical intelligentsia," the industrial class who are the dominant force today. The discussants and many in the audience centered their criticisms on the concept of "intellectuals" as a class. John Higham of Rutgers maintained that historically meaningful statements can be made only by distinguishing between intellectual groups according to their beliefs. Howard Becker of the University of Wisconsin, a sociologist who found both papers too sociological, doubted whether a simple transference of hypotheses derived from recent Asian experience could be applied to European and American history, and questioned the validity of the idea of the "quasi-intelligentsia"—who is to say who is "quasi"?

VIII

The main feature of the annual dinner was of course the presidential address by Allan Nevins—"Not Capulets, Not Montagus"—an eloquent appeal for more readable history. It was published in the January 1960 issue of the *Review*. Hermon Dunlap Smith of Chicago served as toastmaster. Boyd C. Shafer, the Executive Secretary, announced the prizes and awards. The George Louis Beer Prize went to Ernest R. May, Harvard University, for his book *The World War and American Isolation, 1914–1917*, and honorable mention to Arno J. Mayer, Harvard University, for *The Political Origins of the New Diplomacy*. The annual Albert J. Beveridge Award was divided between Arnold M. Paul, California Institute of Technology, for "The Conservative Crisis and the Rule of Law: Attitudes of Bar and Bench, 1887–1895," and Nathan Miller, Rutgers University, for "The Enterprise of a Free People: Canals and the Canal Fund in the New York Economy." The Moses Coit Tyler Prize, awarded in alternate years for the best original manuscript in American intellectual history, was given to Hugh Hawkins, Amherst College, for "Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874–1889."

To the multitude of colleagues who assisted with their advice, their ideas and skills, and their time and presence to make this meeting on the reinterpretation of history a rewarding experience for a great number of others—and we may hope for themselves also—it is a pleasure to be able to express my gratitude.

Northwestern University FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

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The Year's Business, 1959

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1959

Our Association has reached a crucial point in its development. It is no longer a small society of scholars quietly pursuing together the study of history. It has not become a craft union seeking principally betterment of working conditions and higher salaries. By American standards it is neither small nor large. It is becoming larger and being forced to make decisions concerning its future. The horizons of history, the rearview mirrors of society, have deepened and widened. The number of historians driving with us has multiplied. The traffic has increased. Shall we plan to increase speeds? Shall we make new maps? Shall we construct new roads? Or shall we let expansion come as it will, proceed at present speeds, and keep to the old roads as long as we can?

This annual report of the Association's seventy-fifth year revolves around questions and ends with few answers.

1. Should we embark on new ventures?
2. Should we try to increase our size?
3. If we increase our activities or become larger, or both, are we willing to pay the costs?

Our Charter instructs us to promote historical studies "in the interest of American history and of history in America." It does not tell us in what ways or to what degree. As historians, we naturally look to the past for guidance. The past, as is so often true, offers no certain direction. The American Historical Association has primarily and consistently fostered scholarly history, as it now does in the *Review*. We have also tried to stimulate historical study in the schools, to attract that wide audience called the literate public, and to see that the interests of history are recognized in government.

As experience has varied, so leaders of the profession have been of diverse minds. Among the founding fathers, Jameson was the historian's historian who set many of our scholarly standards, and Haskins was a solid medievalist who helped establish the historical studies of the early twentieth-century secondary schools. Among our later leaders, Becker, the humanist and stylist, wrote for the intelligent layman as well as for the scholar, but engaged in little public activity, and Beard, the social scientist, took active part in the debates on national issues as well as on those of the schools. In recent years Read, an Elizabethan scholar, made radio broadcasts on the background of the news; Ford, an academic statesman as well as a historian of the era of Stein, often participated in public affairs; and Buck, a historian of midwestern America, was Archivist of the United States. Most of our better-known men have been professors of history, academic in their approach and professional in their interests. Some of them also have desired to bring the so-called amateurs into our ranks and to participate directly in the historical education of the American people.

Our ideals and our activities have been scholarly, though not exclusively so. In 1939 the Association refused to initiate a popular magazine of history. We

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have never encouraged nor published books of history for the lay public. We have, however, often though sporadically interested ourselves in the historical offerings of the secondary schools (as with our Service Center now), encouraged or criticized the historical activities of the government, lent aid to other historical groups throughout the nation, and at times thought not only of research, writing, and teaching in our colleges and universities, but also of the historical instruction the citizens of a democracy ought to have.

Our past does not tell us what we shall now do. Should we attempt to do more than we have?

Perhaps we should try to bring history to the public through televised lectures and panels and through publications. We have examined the possibilities of television with a preliminary conference and through a strong committee headed by Richard Morris of Columbia. The Council of the Association at its meeting examined the positive as well as negative recommendations of this committee: we should sponsor historical lectures and panels for adults but not a course that might be used to supplant the teacher in the classroom. We should offer these lectures and panels, the committee suggests, because we have a responsibility for the quality of historical understanding in America and because if we do not, others, less qualified, will offer programs of lesser merit. Probably the time is past for Association sponsorship of a popular historical magazine, though some members think not. But in the interests of historical study should we prepare pamphlets for adult education similar to those our Service Center now prepares for high school teachers, and should we publish historical books, or at least offer prizes for volumes designed for the public? How far and for whom shall we promote historical studies? Certainly some of the American people have shown interest in some varieties of history, though not often in the scholarly history most of us both prefer and write.

If we skeptically view further efforts on our part to stimulate public interest in history and prefer to concentrate on scholarly tasks, then what scholarly tasks and in what magnitude?

Recently we asked over eighty historians for suggestions for the *Review*. Generally they gave the *Review* high praise, but they thought of changes too. The majority asked for "more of the same." Several suggested six instead of four issues a year, and two advocated a monthly. Should we contemplate six issues? Some of our correspondents believed that we should review more books. More than the 614 we reviewed or noticed last year? Several wanted longer reviews than we now usually run and some more short notices. A few thought we should shorten the news section; a greater number wished it enlarged or asked for a separate newsletter. There was praise for our lists of articles, though no general agreement, and some sentiment for a reduction in their present length in order to make space for more articles. The *Review*'s articles received commendation, though some individuals remarked that they seldom read them except those in their own specialty—and those were too few. Perhaps we should publish more than the eighteen articles and six "Notes and Suggestions" we did last year. Perhaps we should see more than the 181 submitted last year or the 168 of the year before. Perhaps not. Perhaps we should try for other types of articles. The

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demand was strong for more interpretive and bibliographical essays and for more on broad themes and on the nature of history. The *Review* is now trying, with fair success, to obtain more such articles though not many American historians write them. In sum, what our readers want is more articles, more reviews, longer reviews, and more news. And this, though more than eighty historical journals of one kind or another are now published in the United States and several additional ones are started each year.

Perhaps, then, our first task, if we contemplate rendering greater service than before, is to enlarge the *Review*'s scholarly coverage. Does this objective, however, outweigh several others? Last year the Council, somewhat reluctantly, approved a proposal for a survey of historians' research needs and opportunities. The Executive Secretary, pressed by other commitments, could not initiate the study. The study should be made. Members urge us to assist historians over the whole range of historical pursuits.

Before I discuss their further proposals I must outline some of our present activities. Few realize how many and varied are our services for historians or how, with limited resources, we have vastly extended them during the past few years. We now offer seven excellent prizes and we have seven strong prize committees to conduct the competitions. We offer awards in European history (the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, Henry Winkler, chairman), in recent international history (the George Louis Beer Prize, Carl Schorske, chairman), in American history (the Albert J. Beveridge Award, Alfred D. Chandler, chairman), in United States history (the John H. Dunning Prize, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., chairman), in British Commonwealth history (the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize, Helen Taft Manning, chairman), in American intellectual history (the Moses Coit Tyler Prize, Charles Barker, chairman), and in Indian history (the Watumull Prize, Robert Crane, chairman). Our prizes reward and honor the authors of substantial historical works and in recent years they have enabled the publication of two or three volumes annually which have been, though the phrase be hackneyed, contributions to knowledge.

Our other activities are as wide in scope as are the interests of our constituents. For many of them we have established standing or special project committees. These, with their chairmen, include the Committees for Documentary Reproduction (Robert Eckles), the *Guide to Historical Literature* (George Howe), the Harmsworth Professorship (C. Vann Woodward), the Historian and the Federal Government (Edward Younger), Honorary Members (Paul Clyde), International Historical Activities (Arthur P. Whitaker), Littleton-Griswold Fund (Edward Dumbauld), South Asian History (Holden Furber), Study of War Documents (Oron Hale), Service Center for Teachers of History (Joseph Strayer), and Graduate Education in History (Dexter Perkins).

In addition, through representatives, delegates, or the Executive Secretary, we participate in the work of several scholarly groups, e.g., the International Congress of Historical Sciences (Boyd C. Shafer and Arthur P. Whitaker), the National Historical Publications Commission (Guy Stanton Ford and Julian P. Boyd), the American Council of Learned Societies (Robert R. Palmer), the Social Science Research Council (Louis Gottschalk, David Potter, and C. Vann Wood-

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ward), and *Social Education* (Herman Ausubel and Boyd C. Shafer).

Some of our committees and delegates, with the full and energetic support of our headquarters, have made and are making major contributions to historical study. Some are constructing tools for the scholar, some pointing out directions, some reenforcing values of historical scholarship. Most of them, as the record shows, have been active this past year. I have almost lost track of the thousands of reels of microfilm we have made of German documents here and in England. For the Foreign Office papers that were in England, we now have the big new Ehrmann *Catalogue* covering the available microfilms for the period 1867–1920, and for those six million frames made of military records in the United States thirteen guides are now ready and more are coming. The new monumental *Guide to Historical Literature,* for which William C. Davis has collected thousands of entries, is almost ready for the printer, as is the *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada* on which Richard Hale has worked so enthusiastically. We are sponsoring three professors of South Asian history at American universities this year and probably four next year. The circulation of our Service Center pamphlets, edited by George Carson, has reached a quarter of a million, while Service Center conferences for high school teachers have been held throughout the country. We have now and for the first time, as a result of the industry of John Snell, much information about our graduate students and much of this information will become known when Dexter Perkins reports for the Committee on Graduate Education next year. Of the projected five volumes of British bibliography, one, that by Conyers Read for the Tudor period, is published, and the compilation of two others on the medieval and Stuart periods is well along.

These achievements constitute, however, but part of the work of the Association. I cannot here describe all we do at headquarters beyond the initiation and support of the many projects I have just enumerated. Illustrations must suffice. We have a Job Register which on December 1 had 361 registrants and during the year received ninety-seven inquiries from institutions seeking historians. We offer information and advice to hundreds of scholars requesting aid in their research and teaching. We are, dozens of times each year, asked to offer counsel to governmental agencies and scholarly groups in their historical work. As one example, we cooperate with the National Historical Publications Commission in the publication of the valuable *Writings on American History* which the Commission now prepares and we publish as Volume II of our *Annual Report.* As another example, we cooperate with the Library of Congress in the preparation of the new National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, a catalogue which a committee of this Association recommended twelve years ago. We get scores of letters from school children and adults asking for historical information, to most of which we regretfully reply that we cannot help because we are equipped only to do the research necessary for our own activities. But people continue to regard our office as *the* source for historical information in America and when we can offer this information we do.

Certainly we are already expected to lead and are already leading in scholarly enterprises that would astound our founding fathers just as much as the present

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functions of the federal government would shock either Jefferson or Hamilton. Should we, in response to demand, push our scholarly ventures further? Should we, as some of our members desire, press for more graduate fellowships in history? Should we publish a list of all historical research projects under way in addition to our *List of Doctoral Dissertations* (now edited by William Fox)? Should we encourage and plan interdisciplinary research, further stimulate the collection and cataloguing of manuscripts, and start other bibliographical volumes? A sizable number of our colleagues think that we should become more demanding, "more professional" in our aims. Should we now attempt to establish not only scholarly but professional standards for the members of our discipline? Should we set up screening committees for entrance into graduate schools? Should we try to obtain funds for publication of more scholarly books? Should we directly publish more? I have heard a prominent historian, who is not a member of the Association, say that the Association's publication record was poor—in spite of the more than 250 monographs and other volumes we have published. Should the Association publish more, notwithstanding the recent ACLS study which indicated that most scholars had little difficulty in obtaining publication?

The demands for our services are endless. This is heartening, for it reveals not only that the Association fills a need but also that historians have learned that the Association does indeed promote historical study. The scholarly tasks we might further undertake would, in some cases, be of great value. How shall we establish priority among them? How shall we weigh them against our responsibility for educating the public?

I turn to the question of numbers. Should we plan to grow slowly or swiftly? Your Executive Secretary is something of a Jeffersonian. Unlike many Americans (and Russians too) he sees no intrinsic merit in size. Nevertheless, without an organized membership campaign, we are growing. In December 1953 the total membership was about six thousand; in December 1959 the total reached about 8,300. Through a campaign we could obtain perhaps two thousand more regular and student members. By changing our activities to appeal to a larger public than we have we could double, triple, perhaps quadruple our size. But do we wish to grow swiftly or become considerably larger? We should remember that though we may win converts, converts often backslide.

From time to time I hear that the Association ought to include everyone who is interested in history, and I note that members express gratification when we report growth. In our own description of ourselves we say that the Association is for "every man and woman who is interested in the study of history in America." Do we mean this literally? Or do we mean that the Association is for every man and woman who is interested in serious scholarly study? I suspect the latter, but the final decision is yet to be made.

If we enlarge our public activities or our scholarly work, or substantially increase our membership, we face sizable administrative problems. We run an economical operation at present. To carry the already constantly increasing load of work of the Association and the *Review*, our full-time staff has been cautiously increased over the past three years from five to seven people, and we are contemplating employment of one or two more assistants. Our present staff plus

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possible additions will be just adequate for presently planned tasks. If we assume additional projects or if we grow in size, the staff will have to be further increased and costs will mount. May I prosaically show from present experience how growth affects work load. We historians and especially our students are mobile—we move around. The office receives around fifteen hundred changes of address each year, many faculty members move at least once and most students move twice and sometimes three times. Each address change (sorting and opening of mail, pulling of membership and geographic cards, sending changes to the printer, changing of membership and geographic cards, and refiling) takes about ten minutes of a clerk's time—if there are no complications, and alas! there are many. Every increase of five hundred members means three or four additional days of one person's time for address changes alone. We welcome new members but we must provide the clerical staff to take care of them.

You have a good staff. If it is enlarged, it must be with good people. And good people who will do the exacting tasks our work requires are not easily found, nor do they come at discount rates.

What I have done is to present alternatives if we continue to expand. Whether we do or not we must give major attention to the two basic activities of the Association, the publication of the *Review* and the holding of the Annual Meeting. The latter now takes place over three full days, instead of the traditional two and one-half, up to 2,500 historians register compared to the fifteen hundred of five years ago, and this year over 230 will actively participate instead of the approximately one hundred of a few years back. This year's program, arranged by Franklin Scott and his perceptive committee, is the strongest in my experience. We cannot, I think, arrange better sessions than Scott has. I hear in the corridors a lament for our good old smaller meetings. With the booming population and the ever-increasing number of historians, I suspect that we must reconcile ourselves to large attendance. Still I see no reason to plan for larger meetings.

The *Review,* whether we eventually go to six issues or not, should continue to publish articles, reviews, bibliographical lists, and news. It should continue to uphold high scholarly standards. Its Managing Editor with the Board of Editors should continue to help authors with their research and writing.

Here there is much to be done. Very likely the editors cannot materially raise the level of historical writing in America, though they may be able to help. But certainly the need shouts for attention. The Managing Editor at times agrees with the critic of the *Times Literary Supplement* (November 6, 1959, p. xxxii):

> Another characteristic of modern [American] scholarship [is] its indifference to form. A scholar takes thought about everything except his prose and the length of his chapters. He is suspect if he writes well; he is mistrusted if he does not overwhelm the reader with details, quotations, and indiscriminate bibliographies. The American scholar no longer heeds Emerson's advice, "Tell us what you know"; he tells us what he has found, which is a longer and drearier story. . . . From the moment, nearly a century ago, when history . . . and the rest of the humanities repudiated the literary art in an effort to resemble the objectivity of natural science, the contempt for the Word has increasingly bred an unawareness of the Idea. . . . The false analogy with science which suggests to the scholar

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that any fact will ultimately be valuable now makes him willing to spend his time on inquiries of which he himself is unable to state the point.

What the editors can do about the "Word," the "Idea," or the "point," I hesitate to guess. On this issue I suffer from few illusions. But we should not wait for the millenium. The time is now and we begin here.

When this Executive Secretary and Managing Editor tries to answer questions he has been debating, he arrives at no certain conclusions. Of one purpose only he is certain. The first obligation of this Association is to historical scholarship. Only when we are certain that we are doing our best for scholarship should we consciously plan expansion. If we desire TV programs and popular publications, newsletters, or the establishment of this or that historical service, we must be prepared to pay for them as well as for our scholarly work. This means the employment of more people at good salaries. This means enlargement of our headquarters building. In concrete terms expansion may mean an increase in dues to ten or even fifteen dollars a year, dues as high as those of most of the other similar learned societies.

Whether we want to or not, we move, we grow, we are en route. We should take thought of direction and distance. More help for scholarship? Beyond scholarly history? Do we want, are we willing to pay the costs? We should not move or grow just for the sake of movement and growth. We should move in new directions only as these new directions take us toward more thoughtful historical research and deepen historical understanding. We should plan to grow with need —the needs of people seriously interested in history. We can slowly and, we hope, intelligently assume some responsibility for the diffusion of historical knowledge. But as we diffuse we must never forget that we ourselves must first have knowledge and the ability to sustain our efforts on a high level of literacy and integrity.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, THE CONRAD HILTON HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 27, 1959, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Allan Nevins, President; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Crane Brinton, Mildred L. Campbell, John Hope Franklin, Frederic C. Lane, Robert R. Palmer, Stanley Pargellis, Councilors; Dexter Perkins and Walter Prescott Webb, former Presidents.

The Council approved the minutes of the 1958 meeting as published in the April 1959 issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 809–16).

Since the report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor had been sent to the Council, it was not read. The Executive Secretary indicated that the membership of the Association on December 15, 1959, was 8,226, a net gain of 624 for the year, and that growth in the number of members had exceeded expectations.

The Treasurer of the Association analyzed his report for 1958–1959. He stated

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that the financial condition of the Association was sound, but that inflationary tendencies and added activities desired by the membership might bring a deficit in 1961–1962. For the Finance Committee, the Treasurer presented the budget for 1959–1960 and the tentative budget for 1960–1961. The Council approved these budgets and the two small additions in the budget for 1958–1959 which had previously been accepted by the Finance Committee. During the discussion the Council gave attention to the provision of a pension system for employees of the Association and asked that a system be established through the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association.

The Executive Secretary pointed to the demand for increased activities to promote the study of history, including a newsletter or a larger news section in the *Review,* promotion of graduate fellowships, scholarly historical programs on television, the publication of more articles and books, and the need for study of undergraduate curricula and teaching. He indicated that the Association now operates with a small staff and that if increased activities are undertaken, the staff must be augmented. He also stated that the headquarters building would not be large enough if the Association continued to grow in size and in activities as it had during the past years. The Council had previously, in approving the budgets, provided for an additional staff member. It expressed interest in the expansion of the headquarters building and asked the Executive Secretary and the Finance Committee to investigate the possibilities for expansion and to report back to the Executive Committee.

After a long discussion of the financial condition of the Association and consideration of (1) increasing Association activities, (2) the need for a larger headquarters staff and building, and (3) increasing costs resulting from inflationary tendencies, the Council believed it necessary to submit to the members of the Association an amendment to the Constitution, to be acted upon, as the Constitution provides, one year hence, and to establish membership dues in the amounts indicated below:

Regular membership, $10.00,
Student membership, $5.00,
Life membership, $200.00.

The Council also asked that the wording of the Constitution on student membership be slightly revised to read "regularly enrolled in an educational institution." The Council will again be asked in September 1960 for its views on the proposed increases. The necessary amendment to the Constitution will be presented to members at the time the annual Program is mailed in November 1960 and the final decision will be made at the annual business meeting on December 29, 1960.

For the Committee on Committees, the Executive Secretary submitted nominations to the Council for additions and changes on the various Association committees. The committees for 1960 as approved are listed below:

Committee on Committees.—William Hogan, Tulane University; Walter John-

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son, University of Chicago; Carl Schorske, Wesleyan University;* Gordon Wright, Stanford University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; Cyril E. Black, Princeton University; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Clifford K. Shipton, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Committee on Graduate Education in History.—Dexter Perkins, Rochester, New York, chairman; Jacques Barzun, Columbia University; Fred Harvey Harrington, University of Wisconsin; Edward Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont; Leonard Krieger, Yale University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Guide to Historical Literature.—George F. Howe, Washington, D. C., chairman; Gray C. Boyce, Northwestern University; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; Howard F. Cline, Library of Congress; Sidney B. Fay, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Michael Kraus, City College of New York; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Frank Freidel, Harvard University, chairman; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; Arthur Link, Northwestern University.*

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Charles A. Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman;* Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College;* Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, Rochester, New York; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Honorary Members.—Sydney N. Fisher, Ohio State University, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University;* Oscar Halecki, Fordham University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania; John Wolf, University of Minnesota.*

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Waldo Gifford Leland, Washington, D. C.; John Curtiss, Duke University; Chester Easum, University of Wisconsin; Franklin Ford, Harvard University; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Job Register.—Harold E. Davis, American University;* Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University; Aubrey C. Land, University of Maryland; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

* New member this year.

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Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Julius Goebel, Columbia University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Joseph Smith, New York City.

Committee on South Asian History.—Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; David Owen, Harvard University; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee for the Study of War Documents.—Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Walter L. Dorn, Columbia University; Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan; Fritz Epstein, Library of Congress; Hans Gatzke, Johns Hopkins University; Reginald Phelps, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Teaching (*Service Center for Teachers of History*).—Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Natt B. Burbank, Boulder, Colorado; William Cartwright, Duke University; Margareta Faissler, Baltimore, Maryland;** Gilbert Fite, University of Oklahoma;** Stanley Idzerda, Michigan State University;** Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Hazel C. Wolf, Peoria, Illinois;** Walker Wyman, Wisconsin State College (River Falls).**

Committee on Television.—Richard B. Morris, Columbia University, chairman;** W. Burlie Brown, Tulane University;** William C. Davis, George Washington University;** John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College;** Irving B. Holley, Duke University;** Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University;** Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio);** Bayrd Still, New York University.**

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University, chairman; Richard Brace, Northwestern University; William O. Shanahan, University of Notre Dame.*

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University, chairman; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College; L. S. Stavrianos, Northwestern University.*

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Richard N. Current, Woman's College, University of North Carolina, chairman; Hugh Aitken, University of California (Riverside);* Bernard Bailyn, Harvard University; Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa; Glyndon G. Van Deusen, University of Rochester.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University

* New member this year.
** Appointed during the year.

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of California (Berkeley), chairman; Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsylvania;** Edmund Morgan, Yale University.**

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Helen Taft Manning, Haverford, Pennsylvania, chairman; Giovanni Costigan, University of Washington; Charles Mowat, University College of North Wales; Robert J. Walcott, College of Wooster;* David Willson, University of Minnesota.*

Committee on the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.—Stow Persons, State University of Iowa, chairman; Daniel Boorstin, University of Chicago;* John Higham, Rutgers University; Frederick Rudolph, Williams College.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan, chairman; Donald Grove Barnes, Western Reserve University; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania.

The Council gave considerable attention to the Association prizes. It asked that in the future the Albert J. Beveridge Award Committee avoid dual awards of the kind made by the Committee in 1959, and that the Committee always make one award with an honorable mention if funds are available.

The Council approved revision of the rules for the Herbert Baxter Adams Price Committee as suggested by the present Committee as follows:

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, currently set at three hundred dollars in cash, is awarded in the even-numbered years by the American Historical Association on the basis of recommendations made by a special committee of three of its members chosen for that purpose. The Association and the Committee reserve the right to refrain from granting the award in the event that none of the entries is deemed worthy. The Prize is given for an outstanding scholarly monograph or biography (not a textbook) in medieval or modern European history, in manuscript or in print, completed or published since June 1 of the last year in which the Prize was available. Three copies of each entry must be sent to the Committee by the author or his publishers. To be eligible, an entry must be the author's first or second book. No applicant may submit more than one entry and no person is eligible to receive the Prize more than once. No entry will be accepted after June 1 of the year of the award. Information and application forms may be obtained from the chairman of the Committee.

The Council debated various proposals to change the nature and perhaps the name of the Moses Coit Tyler Prize in intellectual history, now given through the generosity of the Cornell University Press. The Executive Secretary was asked to discuss in detail the various proposals with the Cornell University Press and with the Moses Coit Tyler Prize Committee.

Upon presentation of a report of the Committee on Honorary Members, the Council elected Professor Gerhard Ritter of the University of Freiburg to honorary membership in the Association.

The Executive Secretary described the plans for the Stockholm meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences and the travel grants available from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. He urged that those planning to attend the Congress make hotel reser-

* New member this year.
** Appointed during the year.

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vations as early as possible since accommodations in Stockholm are limited.

The Council confirmed the appointment of Max Savelle of the University of Washington to the Board of Editors to replace Johns Hicks of the University of California, whose term on the Board had expired.

The Council approved the nomination to the Business Meeting of the Association of Arthur W. Page, New York City, for reelection as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and of C. Fitzhugh Gordon, New York City, for election as trustee to replace Thomas Parkinson who died during the year.

For the Association's delegate to the Social Science Research Council, the Council reelected David Potter of Yale University, and as delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, Robert R. Palmer was reelected. As members of the Board of Editors of *Social Education,* the Council elected Thomas Mendenhall of Smith College and George Barr Carson, Jr., Director of the Association's Service Center for Teachers of History.

The Council ratified the previous appointment of Leonard Krieger of Yale University as Program Chairman for 1960, and of Madeline Robinton of Brooklyn College as 1960 Local Arrangements Chairman.

The Council considered once more the time and place of meeting and confirmed the previously made arrangements for December 28–30, 1960, with the Statler-Hilton, New York City; for December 28–30, 1961, the Sheraton Park and the Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C.; and for December 28–30, 1962, the Conrad Hilton, Chicago. For 1963 the Council tentatively approved a meeting in the Sheraton, Philadelphia, depending upon further negotiations to be made by the Executive Secretary. The Council gave serious consideration to a meeting on the West Coast within the next few years, and asked the Executive Secretary to investigate the possibility of meeting in San Francisco in 1965.

The Executive Secretary reported on the progress of the various Association projects. The Service Center for Teachers held approximately thirty meetings for high school teachers during the year. The circulation of its pamphlets is now around 250,000. The Executive Secretary pointed out that for the Service Center the Association had received an additional three-year grant of $140,000 from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, and at the end of this period the Service Center would be asked to become self-supporting or to terminate its activities.

For the work of microfilming German war documents, additional funds totaling $59,000 were received during the year, and work will continue for approximately eighteen months. By November 1, 1959, approximately six million document frames had been filmed in Alexandria in addition to those produced in England. For the Foreign Office documents in England, the huge *Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the 'German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867–1920,* edited by Howard Ehrmann, was published during the year. For the Alexandria documents fourteen indexes plus one supplementary guide have now been published. Scholars, according to information received from the National Archives, are extensively using the documents in the microfilmed forms in which they have been reproduced.

The Guide to Historical Literature should go to the printer early in 1960.

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The bibliographical material for the *Guide* has been compiled and checked. The *Guide* will cost less than expected. Publication should come late in 1960 or early in 1961.

The "Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada," the Executive Secretary stated, will be delivered in manuscript form to the Cornell University Press early in 1960. The Executive Secretary described the difficulties encountered in the production of the volume but stated his hope that scholars will materially benefit by its publication.

Professor Dexter Perkins reported for the Committee on Graduate Education. He described the enormous amount of material collected by the editor of the study, John Snell, and stated that the Committee's report probably would be completed by the summer of 1960 and that it is likely that the McGraw-Hill Book Company will publish the volume.

Dr. Stanley Pargellis spoke on the progress of the British bibliographies. He stated that the volume on the Tudor period by Read had been published, that the one on medieval England, edited by Edgar Graves, was well along, and that Dean Mary Frear Keeler would, he hoped, complete her volume on the Stuart period by the fall of 1960. For the first of the two volumes on recent British history, English editors, A. J. Taylor and I. R. Christie, are at work; but editors for the last volume, covering the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have not yet been selected.

The Executive Secretary noted that the program to promote South Asian studies in this country has been successful thus far, that three professors had been appointed to university staffs prior to this year, that three are at universities this year, and that four would be coming for the academic year 1960–1961.

The Executive Secretary spoke of the completion and publication of *Court Records of Kent County, Delaware, 1680–1705,* and took pleasure in pointing to the fine editing of Leon DeValinger, Jr., archivist of the state of Delaware. He also noted the possibility of stimulating other studies in legal history with the Littleton-Griswold Fund.

The Council long and seriously debated a report from the *ad hoc* Committee on Television, headed by Richard Morris of Columbia University. The Council accepted, with several minor changes, the report which recommended two specific series, one of lectures, a second of panel discussions. These would not constitute a course or be designed as substitutes for the classroom teacher, nor would they be dramatized. Rather they would consist of "accurate, informative, and provocative presentations of historical facts, interpretations, and issues in accordance with the canons of scholarship." The Council asked that the television committee be made a standing committee and that the present membership of the committee be appointed to the standing committee. The Executive Secretary with the committee was asked to take steps to initiate the series if funds could be obtained.

The Executive Secretary reported on recent developments concerning Fulbright scholarships. Members of the Council who have had intimate knowledge of these scholarships believe that recent changes in procedure are an improvement but that the Association, through its Committee on the Historian and the Fed-

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eral Government, should carefully observe the manner in which selections are made in the future. The Council was also of the opinion that more consideration should be given to research needs of those receiving scholarships and asked the Executive Secretary to transmit the following resolution to the Fulbright Committee:

The Council of the American Historical Association believes that in Fulbright appointments emphasis should be placed on the research needs of American scholars as well as on teaching needs in countries to which the scholars are appointed.

Acting on communications from Mortimer Graves, Executive Director Emeritus of the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council asked the Executive Secretary to write letters of support for the Dingell Amendment of Public Law 480 providing for the acquisition of research materials from abroad.

For the Executive Committee for 1960, the Council selected John Hope Franklin, chairman; Mildred L. Campbell; Elmer Louis Kayser; William L. Langer; Bernadotte E. Schmitt; and Boyd C. Shafer.

The Finance Committee for 1960 will consist of John Hope Franklin, Elmer Louis Kayser, and Boyd C. Shafer.

For preparation of a resolution at the Business Meeting, the Council appointed John Hope Franklin and Frederic C. Lane.

Finally the Council gave attention to the protest of Howard McGaw Smyth against the use of material he had prepared while in the Historical Division of the Defense Department. The Council referred the matter to the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government for consideration.

The meeting adjourned at 5:05 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, THE CONRAD HILTON HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 29, 1959, 4:30 P.M.

President Allan Nevins called the meeting to order with about one hundred members present. The minutes of the previous meeting (*AHR*, April 1959, pp. 816–19) were approved.

As is customary, the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Boyd C. Shafer, summarized his annual report (see pp. 755–61).

The Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, analyzed the finances of the Association for the year 1958–1959. His report revealed that the Association has had a satisfactory year once more. He pointed to the fact, however, that the restricted funds (totaling $619,923) which could only be used for special purposes were larger than those assets ($262,502) which are available for general purposes. He also suggested that because of inflationary tendencies, the increased activities desired by members, and the growth in membership, disbursements would increase and that increased revenue would be needed. The mimeographed Treasurer's report was distributed and the Treasurer invited inspection of the financial accounts

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and the auditors' report at Association headquarters. Without dissent the Treasurer's report was accepted.

Acting upon nomination from the Council, the Association reelected Arthur W. Page, New York City, as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and elected C. Fitzhugh Gordon, New York City, to the Board. The terms for members of the Board are five years.

For the Nominating Committee, Paul Gates of Cornell University presented the yearly report and the results of the mail ballot. For 1960 the Committee nominated the following officers: for President, Bernadotte E. Schmitt of Alexandria, Virginia; for Vice-President, Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale University; and for Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser of George Washington University. The Executive Secretary, on motion, was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees and they were declared elected. From the 669 ballots cast by members of the Association, Professor Gates announced the election of W. Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky and Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin to the Council of the Association, and of Gordon Craig of Princeton University and Kenneth Stampp of the University of California (Berkeley) to the Nominating Committee. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University is Chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1960.

The Executive Secretary summarized the major actions of the Council at its meeting of December 27 (see Minutes, pp. 761–68). He announced the appointment of Max Savelle of the University of Washington to the Board of Editors, the names of the various Association delegates and new committee members, and the election of Professor Gerhard Ritter of the University of Freiburg to honorary membership in the Association. He gave the times and places of the meetings for 1960, 1961, and 1962, and indicated that the Association probably would go to Philadelphia in 1963 and was seriously considering a West Coast site for 1965. He reported the Council approval of the report of the Committee on Television to plan and present, if funds are available, scholarly programs on television. These, he stated, would not be courses but lectures and panels to enrich courses and to interest adults. He mentioned minor revisions in the terms for the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize and the possible changes in the provisions for the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.

He then reported the Council decision to present to the membership an amendment to the Constitution to increase the regular annual dues to ten dollars, student dues to five dollars, and life membership to two hundred dollars. As the Constitution provides, this proposal will be submitted to the membership by mail at least twenty days preceding the date of the Business Meeting in 1960, at which time the final decision will be made. The reasons for this Council action, he stated, were several, the two most important being the increased activities of the Association and the inflationary tendencies which increase costs and may bring a deficit in the fiscal year 1960–1961.

Max Savelle spoke for the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association. He described the lively September meeting of the Branch in Salt Lake City, noted the decreased registration, and stated that the Branch had ended the fiscal year in the best financial condition in its history. His report was accepted without dissent.

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For the Council and the Association, Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins University presented the following resolution which was accepted with applause:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association express its most sincere thanks to Professor Franklin D. Scott and the members of his committee for the range and high quality of the program, and to Professor Paul Barton Johnson and those who worked so vigorously with him for the excellence of the arrangements here in Chicago, and for their care and cordiality in action as our hosts.

Under the heading of "Other Business," three resolutions were presented to the meeting.

Thomas H. Greer of Michigan State University asked consideration of this proposal:

Resolved, That the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association be authorized to send the following telegram to President Eisenhower:

The members of the American Historical Association in annual convention at Chicago desire to express their support of your recent endeavors in the interest of world peace and understanding. We urge you to persevere in these efforts and to concentrate upon the aim of universal and general disarmament under international supervision.

On a show of hands the resolution was defeated.

Fred Harvey Harrington of the University of Wisconsin presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association wishes to record its strong disapproval of the affidavit provisions of the National Defense Education Act and to express its hope that the Congress will eliminate these provisions at the earliest possible moment.

The resolution was passed.

A third resolution given to the Executive Secretary by Carl Bode of the University of Maryland was presented in the following form:

Whereas the Library of Congress is in many fields the nation's greatest resource in scholarly research, and

Whereas the number of study rooms available to individual scholars has within the last three years been materially decreased,

Resolved, That the American Historical Association urge the administration of the Library to preserve and increase the number of these study rooms available to scholars through the most vigorous representation to Congress.

After considerable debate from the floor the resolution was referred to the Council of the Association.

Since there was no other business President Nevins adjourned the meeting at about 5:50 p.m.

Boyd C. Shafer, *Executive Secretary*

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American Historical Association

The American Historical Association will meet in 1960 at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York City, December 28–30. The Program Chairman is Professor Leonard Krieger of Yale University and the Local Arrangements Chairman is Professor Madeline Robinton of Brooklyn College.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its fifty-second annual meeting in Salt Lake City, September 10–12, 1959. Registration totaled 159. Officers for 1960 are: President, Thomas Bailey of Stanford University; Vice-President, Francis Herrick of Mills College; Secretary-Treasurer, John H. Schutz of Whittier College; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review,* John Caughey of the University of California, Los Angeles; newly elected Council members, David Harris of Stanford University; Earl S. Pomeroy of the University of Oregon; and William R. Steckel of the University of Wyoming. The 1959 award for the best book published by a young member of the Pacific Coast Branch was given to W. J. Eccles of the University of Alberta for his *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor.* For the 1959 Louis Knott Koontz Award for the best article in the *Pacific Historical Review* the committee in charge was evenly divided between Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "The Enigma of the Sublette Overland Party, 1845," and Robert Seager II, "Some Denominational Reactions to Chinese Immigration to California, 1856–1892."

Professor Armin Rappaport of the University of California, Berkeley, is Program Chairman for the 1960 meeting, which will be held September 7–9 at the University of Washington, Seattle.

Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received a new source for the study of recent diplomacy and international law in the papers of John Bassett Moore, which were presented by his daughters. The approximately 100,000 letters and related items span Dr. Moore's career from his appointment, in 1886, as Third Assistant Secretary of State, until 1947, the year of his death. They amply cover his service in a series of public posts—Assistant Secretary of State in the McKinley administration, State Department counselor under President Wilson, and member of the Permanent Court of International Justice—and as Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at Columbia University, 1891–1924. The Moore papers may be consulted at the present time only with special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

The papers of George Sutherland (1862–1942), lawyer, United States Senator from Utah, and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, have been given to the Library by his daughter, Mrs. Walter A. Bloedorn. Numbering some five thousand pieces, the papers are composed of a few early diaries; legal briefs, 1887–1901; Justice Sutherland's Supreme Court opinions, 1922–1937; correspondence, 1902–1941; and miscellaneous related material.

To the Library's collections documenting the military and governmental aspects of the early years of American occupation of the Philippine Islands have

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been added a series of fifty detailed letters and a diary, in which Blaine Free Moore writes frankly of local conditions in the islands from 1901 to 1906, while he was a teacher and school official there.

Registers for the papers of Bishop Charles Henry Brent, Herbert Corey, James J. Davis, Judson King, Grover C. Loening, William Gibbs McAdoo, Theodore Sherman Palmer, Morrison R. Waite, and Wallace H. White have been published, and a limited number of copies of these and the registers on the Library's earlier list are available, free of charge, from the Office of the Secretary, Library of Congress.

The Library will establish an Africana unit with the aid of a five-year grant of $200,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. A scholar who is an expert in the African field will head the unit. The Library now has tremendous holdings of African materials, and the Carnegie grant will provide for a staff to identify the materials, prepare and publish bibliographies, give specialized reference service, and identify gaps in the holdings of the Library of Congress as well as of other American research libraries.

Among recently issued National Archives Microfilm Publications are: Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from Nine Additional Agencies (111 rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the States of Delaware (one roll), Indiana (three rolls), and Massachusetts (nine rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, 1848–1888 (eighty rolls); Despatches from United States Consuls in Nuevo Laredo, 1871–1906 (four rolls); State Department Territorial Papers: Dakota, 1861–1873 (one roll); and Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the Mexican War in Organizations from the State of Texas (nineteen rolls), and of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the States of South Carolina (392 rolls) and Tennessee (359 rolls).

Another guide to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia, has been prepared by the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents and published by the National Archives: no. 14, *Records of the German Field Commands, Armies* (Part I).

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives 1,463 containers of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Office relating to the Weimar period. With completion of this transfer the bulk of the microfilms on the period 1918–1933 is available at the National Archives.

The National Archives has issued preliminary inventory no. 122, *Records of the Collector of Customs, Puget Sound District, in the Seattle Federal Records Center,* and special list no. 15, *List of Photographs of Irrigation Projects of the Bureau of Reclamation.*

Additional information about the microfilm and copies of the publications may be obtained from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

Among the more important recent manuscript acquisitions of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library are: papers of United States Representative James Roose-

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velt, most of them for the years 1937–1938, when he was administrative assistant to the President; papers of Emil E. Hurja, 1912–1953, reflecting his long career in journalism, his work as executive secretary to the Democratic National Committee, 1932–1937, and his connection with other public affairs; papers of Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, chiefly drafts of speeches prepared by him for President Roosevelt; and papers of R. Walton Moore, chiefly relating to his activities as Assistant Secretary of State and counselor of the Department of State in the 1930's. The papers of Judge Rosenman and John M. Carmody are now open for research.

The terms governing access to the Morgenthau papers in the Roosevelt Library have been altered by agreement between Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and the Administrator of General Services. Papers predating January 1, 1937, will be opened to scholars for general research on January 1, 1962; those of 1937–1940 will be opened on January 1, 1966; and the rest will be opened on January 1, 1971.

Oscar L. Chapman, Secretary of the Interior from 1949 to 1953, has deposited his personal papers in the Harry S. Truman Library. The papers relate to the river basin projects of the West, the national parks, the St. Lawrence Seaway—in short, many of the activities with which the Department of the Interior was concerned during Chapman's twenty years of service.

The Massachusetts Historical Society announced the completion of the microfilm edition of its Adams Papers in December 1959. Covering the years 1639–1889, the microfilm edition consists of 608 reels of diaries, letter books, miscellany, letters received, and other papers of this presidential family. Scholars are welcome to use the edition freely, the only restriction being that permission must be secured to quote or publish materials drawn from the films. Sets are still available for purchase.

The microreproduction laboratory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is supervising production of a microfilm edition of the papers of General Henry Knox (1750–1806). These papers are owned by the New England Historic Genealogical Society and are deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Filming of the papers should be completed by late summer or early autumn of 1960. Further information regarding microfilm editions of the Knox or Adams papers may be obtained from Stephen T. Riley, Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts.

Among recent acquisitions of the Nebraska State Historical Society are scrapbooks and papers of Oren S. Copeland, former congressman and mayor of Lincoln, Nebraska, and the papers of former Governor Adam McMullen.

The University of North Dakota has recently received the papers of Senator William Langer. It also has a large collection of the correspondence of William Lemke.

Thurman Arnold, former United States Assistant Attorney General and United States circuit judge, has presented his papers to the University of Wyoming Library.

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International Historical Activities

As previously announced, the Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Stockholm, August 21–28, 1960. Historians from most parts of the world will participate in the sessions, which will cover the world's history. Thirteen historians from the United States will give Reports and Communications, and others will participate in meetings held jointly or within the Congress. Professor Arthur P. Whitaker and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer are members of the Assembly of the International Committee and will be present. Those interested in attending the Congress should register immediately with XI[e] Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Riddargatan 11B, Stockholm Ö, Sweden, and make such arrangements as possible for living accommodations.

The Anglo-American Conference of Historians will meet at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, July 7–9, 1960.

Grants, Awards, Prizes

The Carnegie Corporation of New York gave a $140,500 grant to the University of Michigan for the development of an undergraduate course on Asia and for related training and research. Michigan, which already has a program of Asian studies, will use the Carnegie funds to strengthen its teaching on Asia and to bring interns from other institutions desiring to develop such courses.

National Defense Graduate Fellowships in history for 1960 have been approved for the following institutions: Loyola (four), Arizona (four), Brown (five), Delaware (four), Duke (three), Emory (five), Florida State (four), Idaho (four), Iowa (three), Kentucky (two), Mississippi (five), Oregon (five), Rice (five), Southern California (eight), Occidental (five, history and government), Cornell (three, history and philosophy of science), and Indiana (four, history and philosophy of science).

The Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants will give grants for graduate study in the USSR. Interested individuals should contact the Committee, 409 West 117th Street, New York 27, New York.

Phi Beta Kappa has established an annual prize of one thousand dollars for an outstanding book in the fields of history, philosophy, or religion. The first award will be made next December to the author of a book published between July 1, 1959, and June 30, 1960. The award will honor interpretive historical, philosophical, and religious studies in the tradition of humane learning. History and philosophy are conceived in as broad terms as possible, so as to include appropriate work in the areas of political science, economics, sociology, and cultural anthropology.

Competition is now open for the 1960 Henry and Ida Schuman Prize in the history of science and its cultural influences. To be eligible, papers must be sub-

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mitted to Professor Erwin Hiebert, Department of the History of Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, before July 1, 1960.

Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin and Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University have received Special Awards grants (ten thousand dollars) from the American Council of Learned Societies for 1960. These awards are given to "mature scholars of unquestioned ability" who are doing distinguished and significant work.

Timothy L. Smith of East Texas State College has received a grant of $14,905 from the Fund for the Advancement of Education for research in American educational history.

Henry Guerlac of Cornell University received an honorable mention in the 1959 American Academy of Arts and Sciences Monograph Prizes for his manuscript entitled "Lavoisier: The Crucial Year—The Background and Origin of His First Experiments on Combustion in 1772."

Publications

The College of William and Mary is collecting "every extant document" concerning John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, preparatory to the publication of the first collected edition of his works. Readers who possess or know of Marshall papers are asked to correspond with The Papers of John Marshall, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Yivo Institute for Jewish Research announces a new bibliographical series concerning the Jewish Catastrophe (1933–1945). Several volumes are planned. Further information is available from the Institute, 1048 Fifth Avenue, New York 28, New York.

The History of the Behavioral Sciences Newsletter is scheduled to appear early in 1960.

Donald E. Worcester of the University of Florida will become Managing Editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* on June 1, 1960, replacing Lewis Hanke of the University of Texas.

Other Historical News

The Conference on British Studies held its autumn meeting November 7, 1959, at the New York University Faculty Club. Professor E. F. Jacob of Oxford University read a paper on "The Study of the Fifteenth Century in England." Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University was the commentator. The Conference voted to found a journal of British studies in joint sponsorship with Trinity College of Hartford, Connecticut.

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Southern Historical Association officers for 1960 are: President, William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin; Vice-President, Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky; Secretary-Treasurer, Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky. The twenty-sixth annual meeting will be held November 10–12, 1960, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, at the Mayo Hotel.

Ray Allan Billington of Northwestern University was elected President of the American Studies Association, Louis D. Rubin, Jr., of Hollins College, Vice-President.

Among the institutions now initiating work for the doctorate in history are the Universities of Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, and Mississippi, and Occidental College.

The department of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, has approved a special program of studies in the history of science and related fields, leading to the Ph.D. degree in history. Candidates must have received the B.A. degree in either history or science.

Princeton University is creating a special program of graduate studies in history and philosophy of science, leading to the Ph.D. degree. Inquiries for the year 1960–1961 may be addressed to Professor Charles C. Gillispie, History Department, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation, Colonial Williamsburg, and the American Association for State and Local History announce the second Seminar for Historical Administrators to be held in Williamsburg, Virginia, June 13–July 22, 1960. The program is designed to introduce selected graduate students to the opportunities available to them in the expanding field of historical administration. It will provide intensive training for those interested in careers as administrators of historic houses, museums, restorations, historical societies, and national and state historic sites and parks.

The seventh annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management will be offered by Radcliffe College, with the cosponsorship of the Harvard University history department, June 27–August 5, 1960. Lester J. Cappon, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, archival consultant of Colonial Williamsburg, and lecturer in history at the College of William and Mary, will direct the course. Two full-tuition scholarships of two hundred dollars each are available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Archival Institute, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The International Educational Exchange Service of the State Department is interested in bringing to the attention of American foreign offices abroad the availability of artists and scholars who may be traveling on leave of absence and who are willing to give lectures, preferably in the language of the country con-

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cerned. Anyone interested should send his name to the Placement Bureau of the College Art Association of America, 432 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York, listing the countries to be visited, dates of travel, and topics of possible lectures (some aspect of American civilization is preferred).

Professor Walter E. Houghton of Wellesley College is preparing *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*. He would be pleased to receive information from historians in every field. Professor Houghton will also be happy to provide information on Victorian periodicals. Communications should be addressed to *The Wellesley Index,* Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes[1]

University of Alaska: Herman E. Slotnick promoted to associate professor and named acting head of the department of history, political science, and economics. *American University:* Lyman H. Legters appointed associate professor in the Foreign Areas Studies Division, Special Operations Research Office. *Appalachian State Teachers College* (Boone, North Carolina): Edward H. Gibson III of Brenau College appointed professor. *Carnegie Institute of Technology*: David N. Gidman, Thomas R. Meehan, and Ludwig F. Schaefer promoted to assistant professor. *Chico State College:* John M. Pfau appointed professor and named chairman of the division of social sciences. *University of Cincinnati, University College:* Hilmar C. Krueger appointed dean of the College. *Columbia University:* Garrett Mattingly named the first William R. Shepherd Professor of European History. *Cornell University:* Donald Kagan of Pennsylvania State University appointed assistant professor. *Dartmouth College:* Louis Morton of the Department of the Army appointed professor. *University of Denver:* Josef Korbel appointed director of the Social Science Foundation and named chairman of the department of international relations. *Duke University:* Theodore Ropp promoted to professor, Frederic Hollyday, Alfred Tischendorf, and Charles Young, to assistant professor; Donald Gillin appointed to the staff. *Franklin and Marshall College:* Norman P. Zacour of the University of Pennsylvania appointed to the staff. *General Services Administration:* Herbert E. Angel, Assistant Archivist of the United States for Records Management since 1956 and in charge of the Office of Records Management since January 1950, appointed director of administration. *Georgia State College* (Atlanta): Gaines W. Walter promoted to professor, David Wells, to assistant professor.

Hobart and William Smith Colleges: Julius W. Pratt appointed visiting professor. *Hope College* (Holland, Michigan): Paul G. Fried named head of the department. *University of Michigan:* John Bowditch of the University of Minnesota named chairman of the department. *Mills College:* Francis H. Herrick named Lynn T. White, jr., Professor of History. *North Carolina State College:* Murray S. Downs of Virginia Polytechnic Institute appointed to the staff. *Woman's Col-*

[1] The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

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lege, University of North Carolina: John H. Beeler and Franklin Parker promoted to associate professor, Barbara Brandon, to assistant professor; Betty Clutts appointed to the staff. *Oregon State College:* Thomas McClintock appointed instructor; Norborne Berkely on leave. *University of Pennsylvania:* Alexander V. Riasanovsky appointed to the staff; John H. Jensen appointed visiting assistant professor, Merrill G. Berthrong, visiting lecturer. *Princeton University:* M. Halsey Thomas of Columbia University appointed archivist. *Sacramento State College:* Edward H. Howes promoted to associate professor; William F. McKee of the University of Maryland appointed instructor. *Stetson University:* Serge A. Zenkovsky promoted to associate professor and named director of Russian and Asian Area Studies; Harold J. Schultz and Gerald E. Critoph appointed assistant professor. *Valley College* (Van Nuys, California): Marvin Abrahams appointed to the staff.

Recent Deaths

Dorrance Reynolds of Dallas, Pennsylvania, a life member of the Association, died October 31, 1959.

Albert Léon Guérard died November 13, 1959, at the age of seventy-nine. A native of Paris, Professor Guérard was educated at the University of Paris and in England. In 1906 he came to the United States and taught at Williams College and Rice Institute. During the First World War he was a member of the army intelligence and liaison services and in World War II he was with the Office of War Information. From 1950 to 1953 Professor Guérard taught at Brandeis University. For briefer periods he was also on the staff of the University of California, the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, Harvard University, Radcliffe College, and the New School for Social Research in New York. Professor Guérard was a chevalier of the Legion of Honor and a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Among his most important works are: *Testament of a Liberal; France: A Short History; French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century;* and *Europe Free and United.*

Conyers Read, one of the most eminent historians of our time, died at his home in Villa Nova, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, on December 23, 1959. Few scholars have made a more distinguished contribution to the understanding of the history of the Elizabethan period; he influenced a whole generation by his writing and by his personal interest in the work of his own students and others with whom he came in contact. Busy though he was, he never was so preoccupied that he could not take time to advise and help a younger scholar. Many on both sides of the Atlantic owe him a great debt and will receive the news of his death as a personal loss.

At the time of his death, Professor Read was seventy-eight years of age, having been born in Philadelphia on April 25, 1881, but he had remained young in spirit. Indeed, until a few weeks before his death he had played golf regularly and carried on a full schedule of research and writing.

From Harvard Professor Read received his first three academic degrees: B.A.,

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1902; M.A., 1904; and Ph.D., 1908. An early recipient of a Rhodes scholarship, he received from Oxford the degree of B. Litt. in 1909. He retained an interest in Oxford and was a frequent visitor to Great Britain. His professional career began with an instructorship in history at Princeton in the academic year 1909–1910. In the following academic year he went to the University of Chicago as a member of the history faculty and rose by the usual stages to a professorship in 1919.

In 1920 the responsibilities of managing a family business enterprise fell upon his shoulders and he took an indefinite leave from the University of Chicago to become treasurer, vice-president and general manager, and finally president of William F. Read & Sons Company, a textile manufacturing firm of Philadelphia. He remained at the head of this corporation until 1933 when he became Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association. During the years when he was engaged in business, he never relaxed his interest in historical research. In fact, five years after he returned to Philadelphia he published *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (3 vols., Oxford, 1925). This epoch-making work was the result of exhaustive research in original documents and was extremely enlightening on the history of the period.

As Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, a post which he held from 1933 until 1941, he infused new life into the organization, reorganized its finances, and gave it broader contacts with both the world of learning and the world of contemporary affairs. From 1934, concurrently with his secretaryship, he held a professorship in English history at the University of Pennsylvania. He retired from this post and became professor emeritus in 1951. At the University of Pennsylvania he conducted a lively seminar where many young scholars received the stimulus that sent them to investigate problems in sixteenth-century English history.

Accurate and meticulous in historical detail, Professor Read was never remotely pedantic. History to him was part of a living tradition. It was natural that in 1941 he should offer his services to the nation and become an important figure in the newly organized office of "Co-ordinator of Information," and a little later in the Office of Strategic Services. He set up and recruited a staff for the British Empire section of the division of research and analysis. His duties required him to make trips overseas during the height of the war. At the end of the hostilities he recruited and organized a group to compile a history of the OSS, but the work was "classified" and never published.

Despite multifarious interests and duties, the sixteenth century was never far from his interests. In recent years, with the assistance of his competent wife, Evelyn Plummer Read, he had set himself the task of searching through the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House, and other archives to discover all that could be found about the career of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. The first volume, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1955), won the Folger Library prize for the best book of the year in English history. The second and final volume was completed last year and is in press. It is characteristic of the man that he completed every task that he undertook.

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In 1949 Professor Read served as President of the American Historical Association. Characteristically, he emphasized in his presidential address the social responsibility of the scholar. He took an active part in many scholarly and editorial enterprises and had many honors awarded him.

Last year he published a revised edition of his *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485–1603*. In addition to the volumes already cited, his works include *The Tudors* (New York, 1936), *Social and Political Forces in the English Reformation* (Houston, 1953), and the editing of John Clapham's *Elizabeth of England,* with Evelyn Plummer Read (Philadelphia, 1951).

Busy with scholarship until the end, the last thing he wrote was *The Government of England under Elizabeth,* a succinct account of the operation of the Elizabethan state, prepared for the Folger Library's series of booklets on Tudor and Stuart England. The page proofs, incorporating corrections by the author, went back to the press the day he died.

Mary Patterson Clarke, professor emeritus at Beaver College, died December 27, 1959. Dr. Clarke, who received the Ph.D. degree from Yale University in 1932, was chairman of the Beaver College history department from 1925 until her retirement in 1949. She was the author of *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies.*

Eber Malcolm Carroll, professor emeritus of history at Duke University, died in Bussum, Holland, near Amsterdam, December 28, 1959. He had resided in Holland since his marriage in September to a native of that country, Miss Mary Pos. He was born in Coldwater, Michigan, March 13, 1893, and all his formal higher education was at the University of Michigan, where he received the Ph.D. degree in 1922. He became assistant professor of history at Trinity College (now Duke University) in 1923 and professor in 1937; in 1953 he was made James B. Duke Professor of History; and he was chairman of the department from 1954 to 1957. In 1917–1918 he was a private in the United States Army Ambulance Service, AEF; during World War II he held positions of responsibility with the Office of Strategic Services, and later SHAEF, 1942–1945. He was with the Department of State, 1946–1949, as deputy editor in charge of European operations, German War Documents Project, and he was a coeditor of a series of *Documents on German Foreign Policy*. For this Association he was a member of the committee on the microfilming of war documents, 1955–1956. His doctoral dissertation, done under Ulrich B. Phillips and Claude H. Van Tyne, was on the *Origins of the Whig Party* (1925), but early in his teaching career he turned to European history. With the publication in this *Review* of "French Public Opinion on War with Prussia in 1870" (July 1926), he began a pioneer study of public opinion and foreign policy which led to *French Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs, 1870–1914* (1931) and *Germany and the Great Powers, 1866–1914: A Study in Public Opinion and Foreign Policy* (1938). A few months before his death he was presented with a *Festschrift* by eleven former students, *Power, Public Opinion, and Diplomacy* (1959), which included a bibliography of his publications. He left at least one book-length manuscript on which he was making the final

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revisions. His class lectures were forceful and based on firsthand research; his students stood somewhat in awe, yet those who sought his assistance received every courtesy. On the campus he was respected as a distinguished scholar.

Robert S. Fletcher, professor of history and department chairman at Oberlin College since 1957, died in December 1959. A specialist in Oberlin history, Professor Fletcher published a two-volume *History of Oberlin College* in 1943. His most recent work was *Eureka: From Cleveland by Ship to California, 1848–1850.*

Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, professor emeritus of economic history at Columbia University, died in December 1959 at the age of eighty-five.

Sidney Painter, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, who had been a member of the Council of the American Historical Association and Chairman of its Program Committee and its Committee on the Teaching of History, died January 12, 1960, at his home in Baltimore at the age of fifty-seven. He received his B.A. degree in 1925 and his Ph.D. degree in 1930 from Yale University and began there, at the suggestion of Sydney Mitchell, his first study, *William Marshal, Knight-errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (1933). This led him into his two fields of special interest. In *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (1943) and *The Reign of King John* (1949) he applied his mastery of realistic detail and revealing incident to English constitutional history and related medieval institutions. On the other hand, his delight in French knightly culture led him to write *The Scourge of the Clergy, Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany* (1937), *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France* (1940), one of his most widely read books, and the studies of the nobility of Poitou which were among the last of his many articles in *Speculum*. He contributed chapters to *A History of the Crusades,* being edited by Kenneth M. Setton, wrote a college text, *A History of the Middle Ages, 284–1500,* and was coauthor with Yu-Shan Han and Carl Becker of a high school text, *The Past That Lives Today.*

After going to Johns Hopkins in 1931, Dr. Painter became professor and chairman of the department of history in 1945. He commanded the affection of an exceptionally large number of students and friends in Baltimore and in professional circles. He served the American Council of Learned Societies as treasurer and secretary and he was on the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils. He was a Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America and was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society. His unsparing services to the community and the profession will be greatly missed, as will the salty lectures and kindly friendship which endeared him to students and colleagues.

Roland Gray of Cambridge, Massachusetts, life member of the Association, died recently.

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Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Historians sometimes may approach men and events of the time with mind made up, looking to documents for evidence to bolster up preconceptions rather than for facts to arrive at an objective appraisal. A check on sources used for the article "Canada and the Siberian Intervention" (your July 1959 issue) forces me to suspect the author guilty of this approach. He attempts to prove that the Siberian expedition was Canada's first effort at complete control of her foreign policy; that lack of understanding between Great Britain and the United States was "the dominant factor" for Canada in Siberia; that "In such circumstances policy could not be left in the hands of the British Foreign and War Offices."

The effect striven for necessitates difficulties between the United States and Great Britain, and also between the Canadian military authorities and the Canadian Force Commander (Elmsley) on the one hand, and the War Office and the Chief of the British Military Mission in Siberia (Knox) on the other. To this end, liberties have been taken with documents, remarks pulled out of context, and facts distorted. True, different historians interpret documents differently; therefore, in fairness, I shall first quote Mr. Smith, then the papers. The reader may draw his own conclusions.

Canada raised a force—without difficulties with the War Office as implied—and regarding control Smith charges: "There followed a sharp controversy with the War Office over . . . ultimate control of the Canadian troops. . . . When the Canadian government said in effect 'no control, no troops' the War Office capitulated. Ottawa had control and the War Office salvaged the right to issue 'orders' which did not have to be obeyed."

In actual fact Elmsley's orders, after amendment by Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, were these:

> You will operate under the orders of the Allied Commander-in-Chief in Siberia [a Japanese]. . . . That is to say, you will carry out loyally any instructions issued to you by the Commander-in-Chief. . . . At the same time, if any order . . . appears to imperil . . . your force you will be at liberty to appeal to the British Government before executing such orders. This appeal will be made through the C.I.G.S. London, and repeated to the Canadian Government.

Elmsley himself added:

> No appeal to be decided against the [Canadian] G.O.C. . . . without consultation with the Canadian Government. Without referring to War Office or any outside body direct correspondence may pass between G.O.C. . . . and the Canadian Government. [C.I.G.S. to Elmsley, Sept. 10, 1918, Canadian Expeditionary Force Siberia, Records, folder 17, file 1, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; War Office to Elmsley, Oct. 6, 1918 (telegram containing Borden's amendment; incorporated by Elmsley), *ibid.*]

I now pass to events in Siberia and to Elmsley's alleged troubles with the "anti-American" General Knox. Elmsley, says Smith, "agreeing fully with the American commander General William S. Graves, considered it folly to fight Bolshevism with force of arms," whereas "Knox preached war and lamented that the Canadian and British troops had not begun to fight their way to Moscow." Knox did not advocate a British and Canadian advance on Moscow. He said: "There can be no reasonable doubt that one allied division or even a brigade,

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if pushed through to the Volga when the railway was opened in early September, would have reached Moscow. . . ." In September, Canadian troops had not yet reached Siberia, nor did Knox make any specific recommendation regarding Canadian and British troops. He continued: ". . . the one thing wanting is tangible allied force at the front [which] . . . would give new heart to the Russians and Czechs." [Knox to Elmsley, "Notes on the present military situation in Siberia," Nov. 27, 1918, *ibid.*, file 2.] Elmsley agreed with Knox: "Elliot [British High Commissioner, Siberia] and Knox urge from the political and military standpoint immediate despatch our force to Omsk and farther west. . . . French and Czechs also consider above action imperative. I concur. . . ." [Elmsley to War Office, Nov. 2, 1918, *ibid.*, file 3.] Elmsley, far from agreeing with Graves, deplored American policy. He recommended, as opposed to inactivity, that American troops be employed in building up and training anti-Bolshevik forces. "Every effort [should] be made to associate the Americans and Japanese with our activities west of BAIKAL and the training of Russians in Siberia." [Elmsley to War Office, Jan. 19, 1919, *ibid.*, file 1.] "Knox called Americans 'eye-sores,'" says Smith—another travesty of fact. "The Americans here are not a standing eyesore to the fighting men at the front. . . ." [Knox to War Office, Nov. 24, 1918, *ibid.*] From these few examples—a long list could be compiled—can be judged how far Smith's interpretation appears to be based on documents. Historical accuracy demands a challenge.

The dominant factor for Canada in the Siberian situation was undoubtedly this: the armistice had been signed and the Canadian public was opposed to retaining troops in Siberia—for reasons insufficiently understood—when the war was over.

All our colleagues are of opinion that public opinion will not sustain us in continuing to send troops many of whom are draftees under Military Service Act . . . now that the war is ended. We are all of opinion that no further troops should be sent and that Canadian forces in Siberia should as soon as situation will permit, be returned to Canada. Consider matter of serious importance. [Sir Thomas White (acting Prime Minister) to Sir Robert Borden in London, Nov. 14, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518(1).]

Ottawa, Canada JOHN A. SWETTENHAM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I have read Mr. Swettenham's letter and welcome the opportunity to comment upon it. Although his first paragraph misrepresents the emphasis of my article (which deals with several, not one "dominant factor"), I will confine myself to Swettenham's specific criticisms.

Was the question of the control of the Canadian forces in Siberia a point of issue between the Canadian government and the British? Most emphatically it was. The very documents Swettenham quotes show one phase of the insistence on ultimate control which characterized the Canadian government throughout. General Elmsley in Siberia discovered that the principle needed repeating. In a letter of argument to General Knox, Elmsley felt called upon to cite the following from an August 13 memorandum governing the Canadian force:

It must be distinctly understood that if the Canadian Force proceeds to Vladivostock that it shall not be committed to any military operations, or subject to the orders of any Officer other than General Elmsley, and that the force can only be committed after

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receiving his sanction and approval. . . . [Elmsley to Knox, Dec. 27, 1918, Canadian Expeditionary Force Siberia, Records, folder 17:3, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.]

Elmsley considered the above part of his instructions. Later he observed that we "claim a deciding voice in any policy affecting the lives of Canadians, and I recognize that the British Government has rather overlooked this fact and the provisions governing employment of our force as agreed to in August 1918. . . ." [Elmsley to Canadian General Staff, Ottawa, Jan. 23, 1919 (draft of cable prepared but not sent), *ibid.*, 17:1.]

What were General Knox's views on intervention? It is true that in November 1918 he lamented that the opportunity for a move on Moscow had not been seized in September. It is also true that he was looking forward to the spring. A week before the armistice he wrote, "continual intervention leading to ultimate temporary Allied control is the only possible chance for repayment of loan." Then he suggested that "as many British or Canadian troops [be] sent here by spring as we can spare." [Knox to War Office, Nov. 4, 1918, *ibid.*, 17:2.] The armistice caused no change in Knox's fundamental views.

Knox's difficulties with the American forces were notorious and can be documented at great length. There is space to allude only to the discreet complaint which the State Department felt impelled to lodge with the British government. "With all the problems there are to contend with, it does seem to me somewhat unnecessary that British and American officials cannot work closely together in Siberia." [Frank L. Polk (acting Secretary of State) to John W. Davis (American ambassador in Great Britain), Feb. 11, 1919, Department of State decimal file 861.00/4058c, National Archives, Washington, D.C.] So complained the American acting Secretary of State with specific reference to General Knox.

Did Elmsley agree with Knox? In some minor tactical details, yes. Basically, no. The matter is complicated by the fact that Elmsley's views changed as he learned more about the problems of intervention. But let the Canadian general speak for himself. The following are excerpts from a long letter of matured reflection which Elmsley wrote in February 1919 to P. deB. Radcliffe, British Director of Military Operations:

Bolshevism was a menace separate and distinct, and its suppression was not a part of the original Allied programme, unless the Bolshevik forces proved hostile to us and our intentions. In fact, I understood we had hopes of gaining their assistance in our fight against Germany.

. . . following the signing of the armistice, America, Japan, and Canada remained or became inactive and the Czechs adopted the same attitude, as they too stated in no uncertain manner that they were willing to fight Germans but not Russian Bolsheviks, and that Russia's internal affairs were no concern of theirs.

Thus, America, Japan, Canada and the Czechs were in accord and understood each other's attitude. . . .

England and France, however, had no scruple about the suppression of Bolshevism, even if interpreted as an interference with Russia's internal affairs and, associating themselves with all anti-Bolshevik parties in Russia, they went after them bald-headed without the mandate or consent of their former Allies in Siberia. . . .

Canada is hostile to intervention unless this intervention is part of a policy agreed to and supported by the United States and Japan. . . .

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I consider General Graves is right in his statement that "only by listening to the voices of all the struggling groups of the nation can the solution of the problem of a Russian government be found." [Elmsley to General Radcliffe, Feb. 11, 1919, Canadian Expeditionary Force Siberia, Records, appendix VIII of General Elmsley's Report, folder 18.]

Finally the matter of General Knox and the American eyesores. Let me quote the disputed passage, adding italics to indicate the emphasis which I feel should be placed on General Knox's words. Under discussion was a proposal that Canadian troops remain inactive but move west from Vladivostok nearer the fighting. Knox was opposed and wrote:

This is not intervention but irritating occupation and it is unlikely to satisfy either RUSSIANS or CZECHS. The Americans *here* [Vladivostok] are not a standing eyesore *to the fighting men at the Front,* but well fed and well clothed Canadians near the front will find it difficult to explain why they leave the fighting to men half armed and equipped. [Knox to War Office, Nov. 24, 1918, *ibid.,* 17:2.]

Knox was calling the Americans "a standing eyesore" in his eyes. The only thing that kept them from being the same to the men at the front was distance. The front was several days away from Vladivostok.

Lack of space prevents a fuller reply to Swettenham.

Duke University GADDIS SMITH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Dvornik's review of my book *From Florence to Brest 1439–1596* (*AHR,* Jan. 1960) could easily lead to the conclusion that in spite of extensive research I did not succeed, except in details, in discovering anything new.

Even limited, as they were at the beginning, to the period before 1500, such regrets are hardly justified. The "general picture" by A. Amman remains indeed almost unchanged, but there is a great difference between the references in his excellent survey of the general ecclesiastical history of all eastern Slavs from the origin to the present and my specific approach which explains, in the light of new, partly unpublished sources, the connection between the position of the metropolitans of Kiev and such problems as the Congress of Mantua in 1459, the reaction of the West to the rise of Moscow's power under Ivan III, and the anti-Ottoman action planned once more at the end of the fifteenth century.

Since Dvornik missed "sensational discoveries" even in the main part of my book dealing with the end of the sixteenth century, I should like to point out, for instance, the confidential Venetian reports on the policies of the most prominent patriarchs of Constantinople; the reinterpretation of the enigmatic missions of a Croat Pan-Slavist long before Križanic; the connection established for the first time between the union with the Ruthenians and that with the Copts of Egypt; the evidence that the Cossack rebellion of 1596 was not caused by the unionist negotiations with Rome but by their disappointment that Rome's project of using them against the Turks had failed; and the discovery of a long report on the Synod of Brest by a Greek eyewitness hostile to the union but convinced that the metropolitan of Kiev himself was responsible for it.

My chapter on the Union of Lublin is not at all a recapitulation of my earlier Polish works, which discussed the political and constitutional aspects of

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that union. In the present work I studied its religious implications. Dvornik welcomes that chapter anyway, but warns the reader that my ideas "are considered by some critics as too optimistic concerning the role of the Jagellonian commonwealth in European history." My two volumes on the Jagellonian Union appeared in 1919–1920 and after forty years I am still waiting for a criticism based upon new sources proving that my interpretations were wrong.

This leads to Dvornik's final judgment that in my book "at least the Polish point of view is clearly explained and defended." There is no Polish point of view regarding the Union of Brest but a great diversity of opinion in Polish historiography past and present. In the only specific issue which is raised in the review—the antiunionist attitude of Prince Ostrogski—I had to oppose the views of a Polish historian, Kazimierz Lewicki, because I discovered the last appeal addressed to the prince by King Sigismund III.

With the exception of this long secret memorandum, practically all my new manuscript sources are non-Polish. If they all demonstrate that the Union of Brest was the result not of Polish pressure but of a spontaneous initiative of the Ruthenian hierarchy, alarmed by Protestant, Muscovite, and Ottoman influences, and that their initiative could succeed to a large extent because of the friendly understanding of the Polish-Lithuanian authorities, both spiritual and secular, at a time when a general reunion with all eastern Christendom was unfortunately impossible, such a result seems to me not an overoptimistic vindication of the Polish tradition but an objective contribution to historical knowledge.

Fordham University OSCAR HALECKI

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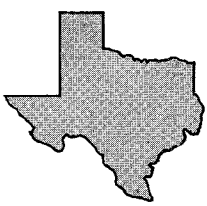
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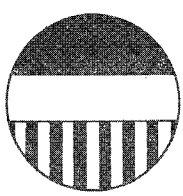
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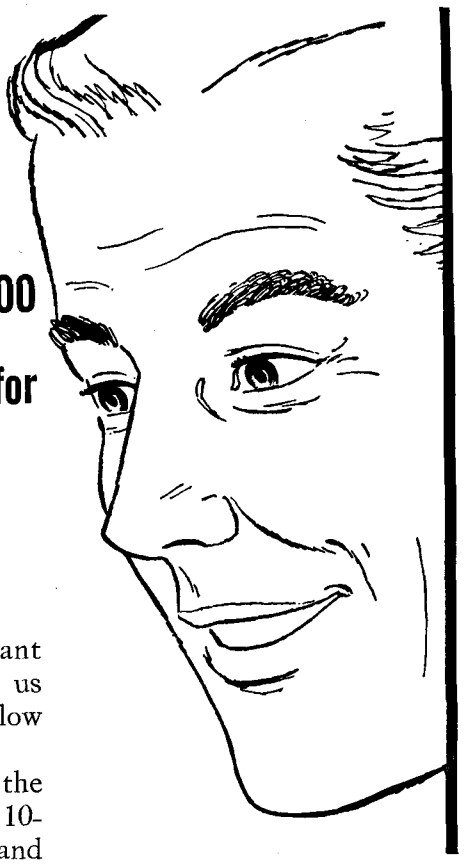
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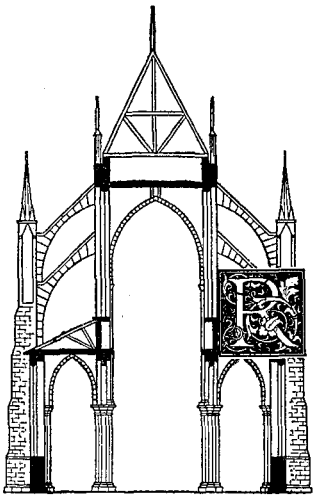
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